

34-800754-1

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY



1979

Vol. CXXXXIII No. 1

Whole No. 859

NOTES

Representative Government

Human societies consist of many Types of organised bodies of persons which function in various manners for the service and advantage of groups of citizens of the societies of which they are parts. Among these bodies there are many whose function is economic and they produce and distribute goods and services which the general public take from them by payment of their legitimate price. These are the various factories and other establishments which supply various kinds of goods and services for satisfying the demands of the members of the community. All food, clothing, medicines, dwelling houses and their furnishings, fittings etc. together with all such things as the people living in the houses use for satisfying their cultural and other conventional needs. Then the rural and urban sections of the community require all sorts of aids to make civilised existence easy for them. Most of the productive groups of individuals

are therefore engaged in turning out the numerous things that modern men, women and children require for satisfying their essential and conventional needs as well as what they needed to live a luxurious life. Other groups of organised people managed the community's transport, conveyance, educational and a variety of other needs, e. g the running of power generation plants, the maintenance of telephone services and the arrangements to broadcast news and other programmes by wireless. We now come to describe a very large group of persons who help to run the governmental organisation of the country in which the members of the community live. There are in governmental organisations requirement for defence, the maintenance of law and order, taxation, courts etc. etc. and a very sizeable portion of the community have to work for these services, as well as for managing the affairs of hospitals, schools and colleges, railways, tramways, roads and everything else

that one usually associates with the organisation of a society of civilised persons. Thousands of soldiers, policemen, teachers, railway men and workers who look after the irrigation projects, doctors, nurses the people who manufacture weapons, munitions, military equipment etc.; are constantly moving and acting in a manner which shows they are organised to work according to prearranged plans; all belonging to sub-groups as essential wings of the main community. Now the point is how do all these organisational arrangements come to be made as an active expression of the independence of the members of the community? All these orderly array of trained men and women give an impression of being put in position by highly efficient autocratic commanders and in fact their ability and discipline usually speak well of the authority of those who train and employ them. Those who employ them are the elected representatives of the people of the community. All communities of all countries which have representative governments are not organised in the same manner. In many there are political parties which function as go between whenever there are elections. They go round the country doing propaganda to convince the voting public as to the excellence of their ideology and work programme and try to secure public support for their party candidates. So if and when the party members succeed in winning a majority of parliamentary seats and form a government the party rules the country and representative government acquires a meaning which is not the same as representing the popular will and preferences. Political party plans, programmes, wishes and mobile leaderships can never be the same as public will and wishes and when parties rule the country the government is run according to the wishes of the party leaders and not the will of the people. Political parties are run as the politicians desire and not necessarily as the

welfare of the country demands. The greatest good of the greatest number might be the declared policy of the party leaders, but quite often forces originating outside the country come into play when determining the party's policy. So that party leaders cannot be depended upon to act exclusively for the good of the general public of the country. Even when there are no foreign influences at work, the interests of small groups of persons cannot always be the same as the well being of the people demand. Also one must remember that political parties always have some declared objectives which their members are to abide by and the objectives are usually like undertaking to propagate some ideals of a special sort which are not national in a general sense. When India was not divided some sections of the Muslim League Party was always demanding the creation of a Muslim India alongside a Hindu India. Other parties demanded a Hindu India. There were other parties which wanted official acceptance of Hindi as a national language or Sanskrit. In short political parties did not ever have an ideology which the entire community would accept as their considered view point. The Congress Party while it followed the ideals preached by Mahatma Gandhi desired all people to spin and produce yarn for the weaving of hand spun hand woven *khadi* cloth which they should wear. Some people advocated the acceptance of vegetarianism as the nation's dietetic speciality; others wanted all factories to be closed down and to give up the use of machine made goods. At one stage there was a move to give up going to schools and colleges, to law courts and other governmental institutions. And to retire to the rural areas to enable the reestablishment of Ram Rajya as India had in 2000-3000 B. C. There were various other ideological moves, like prohibition of cow killing, use of English, maintaining an army, a navy and an air force, and drinking alcoholic

beverages. In India more people are addicts of *Ganja* opium and other drugs, than of intoxicating drinks. But we have not heard of any propaganda for prohibition of smoking *Ganja* at any time. May be that is because in Indian mythology the Lord Siva is in the habit of smoking *Ganja* and all holy centres of Siva worship have some *Ganja* smokers in them. Opium is prepared from the seeds of the poppy and that flower is grown in many parts of India. The seeds after extraction of the opium is used as food. In the case of *ganja* after the drug has been taken out the rest of the fibres are used for the preparation of a very popular and intoxicating drink. (*siddhi* or *Bhang*.) So that if the makers of the nation desire to make the people absolutely sober and free from all bad habits, they should try to abolish the use of the above mentioned drugs and not merely the prevention of drinking alcoholic poisons. Only difficulty they will face would be that thousands of Siva worship centres with their hundreds of thousands of *Ganja* smoking priests and their followers will line up against the reformers. Several states in India have introduced prohibition in their territory and many have one or two dry days during the week. These examples are being adduced in order to show how governments are told political party leaders to make and operate ideological programmes and how obviously the general public whose representatives the officials are not in the picture at all save and except through the political party leaders who really handle all governmental and ideological programmes at all times. When during the early days of political organisations the people's authorised representatives used to govern the states, there were not many people in those early communities and they could assemble in a moderate size field to elect and appoint their representatives who would there after wield their delegated powers and govern the country.

Ten or twenty thousand persons will elect less than a hundred persons and all that could be done easily. But when the electors would be counted in millions and the agents in thousands things would have to be organised differently in order to make the representation correct and effective. The people of the country must have a hand in the election of authorised agents who will thereafter arrange to govern the state. And the authorised agents will have all powers required to rule a large state. All people connected with the work of election and authorisation will have their *bonafides* clearly established and there would be no question of unauthorised use of powers. Though large number of citizens will delegate powers to chosen persons, there should be no dearth of properly established authorisation and no one will question the validity of any action of any body, and all things will have clear proof of authority.

Dacoitees in Railway Trains

Dacoitees are becoming quite common everywhere now a days. Youngmen armed with unlicensed fire arms or with daggers and swords accost unarmed men and women in all sorts of places and rob them of whatever valuables they happen to possess at the time of the robbery. Latterly these robbers have started to enter railway compartments of passenger trains and with a view to rob the passengers who are usually middle class people who travel in an unfashionable manner. The dacoits select second class passengers and they stop the trains by pulling the alarm chain at specially chosen places and disappear in areas which have not many chowkidars. The idea of robbing second class passengers must have been thought of for the reason that second class passengers usually do not go about with pistols or revolvers. They are also not of the class of persons who would resist armed robbers. But most of the reports of these

robberies mention that the trains usually had some armed police on them. The robbers always avoid any clash with the armed police and they also select village areas where they could easily get off the trains and vanish without leaving any signs by which the criminals could be traced. No doubt the psychological preferences of the robbers as evidenced by their selection of the places where would enter the railway compartments and also where they would commit the robbery and leave the railway train; should indicate what sort of persons were involved in the robbery. Experts should not find it difficult to discover more facts relating to the robbers and the robbery by a closer examination of the behaviour of the criminals. The places where these men entered and left the passenger bogies should be subjected to much closer investigation when that is done the evidence should be given expert analysis in order to find pointers which will help to track down the robbers. The police, no doubt, are looking into these cases very carefully, but the matter is very serious and the central government should collaborate with the states to track down the daring robbers. If found necessary expert advice should be sought and obtained from other countries and foreign experts invited to assist the Indian Police in discovering the people who committed these daring robberies. Dacoitees are being committed in residential flats, on pedestrians, tram and bus passengers. The robbers are not robbing people and are restricting their activities to middle class people. The idea obviously is not to bring top class people into the picture.

Rising Prices

When prices rise the people who pay the increased prices naturally enquire why the prices were rising and also whether there could be any means of holding down the rising prices.

The sellers who benefit by the price movement always have good reasons in justification of their charging enhanced prices for their goods. Shortage in supply, higher cost of production would be the usual explanation but if enquiries are carried on, one will find that there were neither any shortage in supplies, nor any increases in cost of production of most of the commodities affected by the price rise. Then we always have our customary villain Inflation, but that also can be subjected to scrutiny and investigation in order to find out how far inflationary forces have acted to boost up prices. Generally speaking it is usually found that when prices rise there are seldom any shortages in supplies or increases in cost of production; nor are there any inflationary causes working to push up prices. If the buyers accuse the sellers are told that the rise is the result of their attempt to rake in greater profit they will go all the way to show how they have been paying higher prices to the wholesalers. The wholesale merchants will take the investigators round the factories, the raw material dealers and all others who might have anything to do with the production and sale of the commodities which were being sold at higher prices. We were making some enquiries recently about the rise in the prices of dry cell batteries and torches. Due to loadshedding and power cuts there has been greater demand for these commodities. Increased production normally reduces the per cent cost of production. But we found a price rise. This was apparently a clear case of profiteering but our enquiries took us into the wilds of the manufacturing establishments, import of components, trade union demands and similar forces whose combined effect caused the rise in the cost of torches and dry cell batteries. Leaving torches to one side we went into the price rise in the fish market. Here things are very complicated as the price rise is highly

irregular and subjected to sharp changes which one cannot keep a close watch on without encountering very great difficulties. There are many other commodities which have similar patterns in price changes. That is why one has to consider the effectiveness of controls.

International Relations

What would strike any student of international relations currently as outstanding feature of antagonisms between nations is that all nations without perhaps any exception have something to complain about against some other nation in the political field. They are likely to get involved apparently in hostilities at any moment; and why they do not start a war is a great mystery. The starting of a war is something that would bring opprobrium on the head of the person or persons who start a war. Nobody wants to be the starter of a war and most political leaders seek to be peace makers rather than be war mongers. That is why all active statesmen are for ever busy making moves which discourage war like gestures by any nations against other nations whose activities are not favourable to maintenance of peace. But provocations are not lacking. Murderous attacks on persons of importance, capturing hostages, high jacking planes and various other belligerent moves drag nations very near war, only good sense inspire the fighting types to move away from the brink of the fire pit. The atmosphere favours war, but ideological reasons prevail over other considerations and no one comes forward to take the first step to turn a peaceful arena into a battle field. As we have said almost all states have something to say against every other state save and except when a state is specifically of the same group or of its own camp. If we examine the middle eastern countries or the lands of the far east we find that all countries consider their neighbouring states as unfriendly or even hostile. Be the states of the Persian

Gulf or of Mediterranean region. If we move on to the far eastern region we find the states there as critical of their neighbours as they had been elsewhere. We have found Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey all states of the region in fact very critical of their neighbours. Strangely enough if the states become members of a hegemony with a great power like the USSR at the top, they immediately stop being critical and begin to practise fellowship, brotherhood and peaceful coexistence. The same sort of inter-state relations develop in any other area and a "cease being critical" atmosphere develops the moment a super power chooses to dominate the states which from then on would be friendly and brotherly to the core.

Knowledge of Realities and of Fundamental Truths

When Raja Rammohun Roy realised that India could be as progressive as the Western nations only through education. And that education should have to be of the Western sciences and not of speculative Philosophy, he came to the conclusion that Indians should learn English. For Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian or the Indian Vernaculars were not suitable to act as medium of instruction for science education. English could be very effectively a medium of instruction for teaching students the various sciences and also to keep in touch with all modern developments in various fields of life. Raja Rammohun Roy was not averse to teaching Sanskrit or the *shastras* which dealt with the basic truths of the universe; but he desired that the facts of creation should be learnt first, before delving deep into the realities that are basic to all knowledge. The sciences dealt with the realities that surrounded us and knowledge of the sciences enabled one to know the origin, nature and function of all that existed as constituting the environment of whatever coexisted with the dwellers of the Earth. Material objects, forces, movements,

Etc. gave the sciences ample scope for analysis, investigation, experiment and deep study of all facts that come into the field of enquiry. The sciences go from one field to another until everything in the universe has been covered in a thoroughly complete fashion. Everything in creation has been subjected to a close study by the votaries of one science or another; and facts connected with all sciences and expertly catalogued in a manner which will leave no gaps in the sphere of knowledge connected with the sciences. But the sciences will not answer many basic questions connected with this universe. Why is the creation like what it is? Why does heat when applied to some thing that is not hot make it hot? Why do things have length, breadth, thickness and weight? And so on and so forth. We can apply scientific methods for understanding facts connected with this universe; but the sciences will not tell us why is there life on this Earth, could there be any other form of force if all life were completely destroyed? The philosophy of the *upanishads* try to answer some of the questions arising out of speculative thinking; but many fundamental truths remain as to absurd as ever, and we do not get any answer to many questions that the *Rsis* have tried answer in their own way. We should like to know much more about life, death, coming into existence, disintegrating into non-existence etc. etc. but the greatest of speculative philosophers have not been able to illuminate the dark regions of human ignorance. Science is progressing; but the obscurities remain obscure and what was unknown still stay unknown.

Do we Know all about the Universe?

We belong to the Solar system. The sun is a star and the planets go round the sun along clearly defined paths. We measure distances in light years, that is the distance that light goes in one year. The solar system as a

whole is moving too in tremendous speed towards certain star formations. The milky way which we see in the sky is the light that emanates from numerous star formations that are millions of light years away from us. And there are infinite number of star formations in space about which our knowledge is very limited. The universe is limitless and there are galaxies and galaxies which emanate light; as also there are dark stars which have ceased to give out light or heat millions of years ago. Our knowledge about the solar system is more than anything we know about any other planetary system; and we know about the existence of billions of stars which have planets of their own which may have resemblance with the planets of the solar system. There must be billions of planets and many of them would be likely to have some sort of life in them. Intelligent inhabitants perhaps who may move about in space. It is likely that these probable dwellers of the planets of the Earth's outer space have not yet discovered the Earth; or that they have and have been by passing the Earth for reasons that they know. In any case, we have a universe about which we know vaguely and generally not much. Our knowledge is increasing but we surely know very little. There is little doubt that our ignorance is infinite. There are millions and billions of stars and among them are a large percentage which have planets of the sort that the solar system has. There is every chance that some of these planets have life similar to what we have here on this Earth. Some planets will have intelligent beings on them and they may be technologically well advanced. So that we may some day meet the dwellers of other planets of other planetary systems who may be similar to ourselves or totally different from us. The probabilities being numerous the chances of there being human like persons dwelling in other planets of this universe would

be fairly many. The question is why have we not encountered any such persons yet. The answer would be that the Earth's history of human connections is about ten thousand years in length and things may have happened before that about which we have no records; nor do we know what may happen in the next ten thousand years. The way we are progressing in the field of science would open up possibilities which would be fantastic in probabilities. Time and space would acquire new and utterly different meanings as far as we can work out. Then what?

Creating New Castes

We have discussed before this the process followed by Indian society in forming new castes by recognising new talent in selected coteries of persons for doing particular type of work with greater ability compared to what the general public do. In ancient times people who excelled in intellectual and religious work became priests and were eventually classed as Brahmins. People who were good fighters, lawyers and administrators formed the second caste and were named Kshatriyas. Those who managed to do trading and displayed ability to do skilled work and did skilled work of the sort that would now be desiered as technical work were in the third caste and would be called Vaishya caste. This caste would be subdivided into numerous small groups and there would be a certain inter subcaste movements. The Sudras formed the fourth caste and were more or less persons who did menial work. Originally the Sudras were prisoners of war and slaves secured by purchase. These above described castes did not function as planned by the lawgivers of the Aryan tribes for many reasons. The main reason was that Aryan society did not continue to exist as it was formed and Hindu society absorbed various ethnological groups in it which were not Aryan. In a few hundred years the Hindus fixed laws which controlled

inter marriage, inter dining and other rules of segregation by which Hindu society was split up into numerous naturally exclusive groups and these groups were not the same all over India. What was permitted in one part of India was strictly prohibited in another part which may be only a few miles away. Caste bars were followed very strictly in certain parts of India by certain groups while in other places or in certain communities the bars were not strictly enforced. Caste restrictions and the formation of new caste groups were quite common during the Hindu period of Indian history. With the coming of the Pathans and Moghuls things changed and rules of caste were lightened in certain cases while they were relaxed in certain other regions and among certain groups. With the coming of the Europeans things changed a great deal due to the impact of christianity. The Hindus of certain regions adopted Western ways of life and they did all sorts of things contrary to caste rules in order to get on in life. They became "Sahibs" and got used to a double standard of behaviour. The development of the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj also made caste rules less oppressive. The Europeans ceased to be an active force in the life of Indians in 1947 when India shook off British overlordship and political developments began to influence social manners and customs with greater force. Caste considerations had to be obeyed in order to secure votes and ministries and committees had their caste factors clearly laid down. A new caste began to develop which acquired the name "politician". The members of this group developed characteristics which often overlapped caste rules and laws. It is certain that the politician caste will take a more well defined shape in the next few decades.

Of The Nobility, of Aristocrats and of Commoners

When we discuss the qualities and character

of large groups or human beings who are considered to be nations, races or communities of one sort or another ; we usually try to find out the nature of the sub-groups into which the main body of persons are split up. In a monarchy the royal family naturally is considered to be the most important people, after whom come the members of the nobility who are connected socially with the royalty. The next important group would be the people who by virtue of their ability, talents or importance in the organisation of the country are the top people. They are the aristocrats if we use classical terminology. The aristocrats are a mobile body of persons who govern the country and also defend the frontiers, run the banks the college and other educational institutions and all other bodies which manage the trade, industry, commerce, shipping and cultural centres of the country. The aristocrats are organised in a sort of exclusive manner and do not mix socially with ordinary people. The commoners are the general public who work for wages, do all everyday work and form the main body of the inhabitants of the land, who cultivate the soil, do all such work as manning ships and boats, running transport vehicles, arranging the sale of goods from small shops, and do all work that are required to be done in order to manage the maintenance of the social system. The commoners as a body of individuals are known as the general public and out of that body come all common soldiers, policemen, clerks working in offices, teachers of schools, workers in small and medium size factories and other

establishments, domestic servants, waiters and hotel attendants, hawkers, porters, municipal workers, workers of printing press, journey-men skilled workers undertaking small contractual jobs, motor car drivers, bus conductors, tramway, railway and other such men who are hired to do things, rickshaw pullers, road repairers etc. etc. etc. When modern states came into existence, the nations had their nobility, their aristocrats and their commoners as recognisable groups, though things were not very clearly distinguishable due to socio-political changes that came with constitutional and representative forms of government. The commoners became more and more important and powerful and the nobility and aristocrats came to be mere figure heads decorating the upper houses of the legislatures. Royal families still existed here and there, blue blood could be located too ; but the aristocrats were the important technocrats, Nobel Prize winners and other very important persons in the world of science, art, the cinemas, theatres, music, medicine, sports, inventions and so on and so forth belong to the group which would form the aristocracy. All persons with out of the ordinary talents make their mark in modern society ; much more so than the king's seventh cousins. These modern aristocrats are the wizards who illuminate the dark corners of human knowledge and make fertile the arid patches of man's field of achievements. Out of the vast numbers of the commoners emerge most aristocrats of the national body.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING IS CURBING

Dr. B. R. S. GUPTA

Government spending—its curbing is a subject which has been widely discussed in the press and on the platform as well. Needless to add, it is common knowledge that public expenditure in this country has grown to astronomical heights. The central government expenditure which was of the order of Rs. 500 crores in 1950-51 now stands nearly at Rs. 20,000 crores. Non-development disbursements have reached Rs. 7,846 crores against Rs. 2,643 crores just seven years ago. What portion of it is avoidable and wasteful is a matter of opinion. When non-development expenditure continues to skyrocket development in a resource-scarce economy like ours suffers grievously.

The physical size of the Union government has also been growing rapidly as revealed by the fact that the number of the Central government employees is over 35 lakhs today as compared to 20.9 lakh in 1961. The government has been more active in modernising the economy and also in laying down the infrastructure for a self-generating economy. As a result it rapidly emerged as a producer and distributor. All this was bound to inflate government and increase its size.

Po op and pageantry indulged in by the government also contributed to the rise in government expenditure. It has been revealed by different estimates that each union Minister costs the nation anything between Rs. 4 lakhs and Rs 5 lakhs per annum. In this connection there should be a ceiling on the total expenditure to be incurred on a Minister like a ceiling on the salary and perquisites paid to company executives. How much an M. P. or an M.L.A.

eventually costs to the tax-payer today is anybody's guess. For they enjoy a plethora of perquisites and benefits in addition to free housing, free medical and travelling facilities. In certain states a person is entitled to pension if he happens to be an MLA even for a day. A government which pleads inability to introduce social security schemes even to destitutes can not afford such expenses. Public opinion has been in favour of abolishing Rajya Sabha, State legislative councils and the institutions of governors. There is no justification for the continuance of these institutions all these years. India had always abounded in Maharajas and Maharanis, princes, and princesses, Nawabs and Diwans which explains why grandeur has become a part of this country's tradition and also a part of its public and private expenditure. Though the princes have gone, the grandeur remains. The only difference is the grandeur of palaces and darbar halls has been replaced by the grandeur of ministerial bungalows, raj bhavans, circuit houses and star hotels. In the name of keeping the dignity of certain offices, we are also nursing certain sacred dignitaries with extra-ordinary care and zeal. These are the luxuries which we can do without.

Needless to add, it had remained one of the worries of the successive Indian Finance Ministers. The first finance minister of free India Sri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty had appointed an Expenditure Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai in January, 1948. It was specially asked to suggest ways and means to eliminate unnecessary, wasteful and extravagant government

expenditure. There were also several studies on the reorganisation of the government. These were chaired by Mr. R. A. Gopalaswami Ayyangar (1949), Mr. A. D. Gorwala (1951) and Mr. Paul H. Appleby (1953). Then there was the Administrative Reforms Commission. The Estimates Committee of Parliament has also steadily emerged as an economy commission not only by the virtue of the functions it is asked to perform (one of the terms of the reference of the committee is to report what economies... may be effected in the government expenditure) but also by the thorough and comprehensive probe it makes into the expenditure incurred by the Central government. The Estimates Committees and also other parliamentary committees have frequently brought to public notice irregularities, waste and extravagance in government expenditure. But such complaints are usually ignored. The union government has appointed a committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. S. N. Misra, to suggest ways and means to reduce government expenditure. The scope of the Committee should be extended to all quasi-government organisations, financial institutions, public and private sector undertakings. The recommendations of the Committee should not be kept in the cold storage but implemented without fear or favour.

The Committee can suggest expenditure reductions in the following fields :—

1—Government vehicles should be used only for official work. They should not be used for the personal or private work of officials. All government vehicles should be stationed at the offices and not at the residences of officials. Officials should make use of public transport, like buses, for going to their places of work. It is well known that government vehicles are used more for personal work than for government work. There should be strict control over the consumption of petrol, diesel

and the use of tyres, tubes, automobile spare parts, etc., by every government vehicle.

2—It has become the order of the day for officials on tour to travel first class on trains, or to go by planes, even though there may be plenty of berths in the sleeper coaches. This should be curtailed. Whenever these officials go out of station on official work, they stay at multi-starred hotels. This practice should also be stopped.

3—The government should discontinue the practice of giving direct phone connections to the residence of officials. STD connections in particular, should be terminated wherever possible. In one government office there are 24 STD connections, apart from the residential lines.

4—Stationing of government subordinate staff at the residences of high government officials should be banned.

5—Seminars, conferences, training, interviews etc., should not be conducted unless it is a must. The T. A. and D. A. bills of participants should be carefully scrutinised. These meetings should not be conducted in the expensive hotels.

6—Payment of deputation allowance and personal allowance should be stopped.

7—The government should be vigilant in sanctioning leave travel concessions, medical bills, vehicles, etc.

8—Service extensions and the re-employment of retired officials should be stopped forthwith.

9—Government engineers, doctors, teachers etc. should not be allowed private consultancy.

The Vigilance and Anti-corruption department books more cases against the lower category of government employees. If the higher authorities are honest, punctual, prompt and efficient, they can bring about drastic changes among their subordinate staff and

make vast improvements in the general administration. All responsible citizens must bring to the notice of investigating authorities about all corrupt officials who are in public service.

Needless to add that the task of Mishra's Commission is highly complex. Even after it succeeds in laying down the principles and highlighting the areas of economy, there will be need for political courage to implement the recommendations. The fate of Bhoothalingam Report is a warning against too much optimism in this matter. In any case, the Commission can not provide an answer to the immediate problem of curbing inflation.

The most conspicuous example of non-productive expenditure at the present time is the grant of subsidies for various purposes to protect producer or consumer groups or to encourage certain desirable or essential items of economic activity. There are cases in which subsidies have economic justification at least for temporary periods to enable adjustments to the changing conditions in the economy. In practice, subsidies tend to outlive their necessities and the beneficiaries of subsidies are often able to resist their withdrawal. At present the subsidies on fertilisers, foodgrains and exports together account for nearly 1,400 crores of rupees. There are also the mounting losses of the public sector undertakings of both the centre and the states which are financed by the revenue budget and hence borne by the tax-payer, who is being told all the time that he is being taxed only for financing investments under the Plan. Needless to add, the major beneficiaries of subsidies are those who have already reaped a rich harvest from development namely, rich farmers industrialists and business community. In the last budget the subsidy on fertiliser alone amounted to Rs. 448 crores. The textile industry has been receiving a handsome subsidy on its controlled cloth production even when it

was sabotaging the scheme. In 1978-79, India's engineering industry exported goods worth nearly Rs 780 crores. But it received an amount of Rs 120 crores as subsidy. It is the time we can set a norm in respect of its quantum and duration.

Another issue which deserves the Commission's scrutiny is the growing size of the Planning Commission. The late Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of Indian Planning was himself critical about the growing size of the Planning Commission. To quote him :—

"It is frightening—you see the building itself frightens me. A close body of peoples who think and advise government has grown into a huge organisation with all the departments of governments almost duplicate there and each one sending papers to the other. That is the normal habit of the government. Yet, the Planning Commission has been growing in size enormously year after year."

Another issue which deserves the Commission's scrutiny is the sharp rise in the Union Government's expenditure on certain state subjects. *Law and order* is a state subject, but the centre today spends nearly Rs. 249 crores on the police. The figure was only Rs 3 crores in 1950. Further, the government is the biggest litigant in the country and ministers go on fighting over petty things right up to the supreme court. Fighting between ministries is also increasing day by day and the burden of all this is on the public exchequer cannot be dismissed lightly.

In India, the government is the largest employer, poor productivity among its employees increases public expenditure. It may be mentioned here that while the government servants even in a desert country like Egypt put in over 2,000 hours of work every year, their counterparts in India work a little over 1,800 hours. Poor productivity among its employees increased public expenditure. The Commission should recommend ways and means to improve the

productivity of the government servants. The commission has to go deep into this aspect of India's public expenditure also. The task before the Commission is not merely to make suggestions to promote economy in public expenditure, but also to create an awareness in the country as a whole that this is the last country which can afford waste and extravagance in the expenditure, public or private.

In recent years, expenditure on the security services has increased steeply; owing to larger allocations for defence and the Central police forces like the CRP, Border Security Forces and the Industrial Security Forces, it is difficult to say that all these can be avoided. The current tensions among political, trade union and communal groups show no signs of abating to warrant any substantial reduction of these forces. In our external defence system, there are many areas requiring to be further strengthened. Our defence budget at nearly 3,000 crores rupees may seem quite high for a poor country but still not unreasonably so by international standards since it is about 4% of our GNP. The rising cost of defence personnel and equip-

ment and the need to maintain the morale of the forces would probably rule out any cuts in spending; the defence authorities, however, owe it to the people of this country to ensure that they spend what they get effectively and that the sacrifices by the tax payers are not made in vain. The Commission has to go deep into this aspect of public expenditure.

It is quite crystal clear from the foregoing discussions that the appointment of Committees, panels, commissions, and sub-committees has become routine affair. It was disclosed by Mr. M.C. Chagla that the first thing he did as the Union Minister of Education was to abolish at a stroke, 50 odd committees that were appointed by the predecessors. While expert studies may be necessary in certain areas the habit of appointing committees and sub-committees to study almost everything under the sun needs to be checked, especially when the recommendations of many of them are allowed to gather dust. The recent Bhoothalingam Report can be cited as an example. One wonders whether anyone knows the exact number of committees, sub-committees, panels and commissions appointed during the last two years alone.



SINO-SOVIET RIFT : CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

ATTAR CHAND

It is ironical that China and the Soviet Union who were considered as inseparable friendly Communist countries during the fifties have not only split, but have turned into rivals. Though the Soviet Union extended generous economic and military aid to China in the early fifties, the friendship between the two Communist giants did not last long, as China could not remain under the leadership of any other country.

According to the Chinese psychology the Chinese people are supreme in the world and they cannot see any other nation steal a march over them. This "psychological compulsion" had led China into several unpredictable ventures. The attack of India in 1962 was one such event, the break with the USSR was another. The rivalry with the USSR arose out of the Chinese desire for the leadership of the Communist world. Again, the Chinese people for whom Mao Tse Tung's motto that "power comes out of the barrel of a gun" was sacrosanct and inviolable, could not digest the decisions of the 20th Communist Congress, modifying some of the basic principles of Marxism into accord with the changing realities of the nuclear age. China termed the Soviet leadership as "revisionist" and sought to divide the Communist world on the basis of ideology.

Though only Albania, among the Communist countries, adopted the Chinese line, the Chinese leadership was undeterred. They continued their efforts for more allies in the Communist camp and the Third World. These attempts were not very fruitful and as, for some time to come, the cold war between the two super Powers—the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.—relaxed,

the Chinese felt isolated. While the U.S. was ostensibly pursuing a policy of detente it was perturbed over the growing Russian influence and prestige in South Asia, the Third World, the Middle East and Africa. Henry Kissinger, former U.S. President Richard Nixon's roving ambassador, believed in the policy of power balance and wooing of China appeared to suit the purpose. On the other hand, the Chinese were equally apprehensive and jealous of the Soviet power and influence and in the early seventies they readily agreed to receive President Nixon in Peking, despite America's continued aggression in Indo-China. As the events turned out, Vietnam achieved independence, President Nixon quit and America started to have a second look at its involvement in Asia. The new found love between China and America also waned for sometime.

Of late, however, both the sides have made endeavours to rekindle the lost interest in each other to pursue their common interests. President Jimmy Carter is losing fast in successive opinion polls in the U. S. due mainly to unproductive economic policies relating to two most crucial problems—energy and inflation, which are obviously beyond his control. The growing Russian role in the Horn of Africa has also undermined the American prestige. To find a way out of his predicament, he has seized the anti-Soviet hardline, which is a sweet song on the ears of Hawks in the Senate. There are, of course, other, supplementary reasons for the increasing U.S. interest in China.

China with a population of about one billion is the world's most populous nation

and the Carter administration believes that it will be in the American interest to ensure that the U.S. and Chinese Governments follow a path of co-operation. Again, Mr. Brezezinski, President Carter's national security adviser, who like Mr. Henry Kissinger, wanted to maintain global balance of power made the case that when U.S. relations with Moscow were on the decline, it was helpful to keep the Russians guessing with hints of a tilt towards China.

Again, for a long time China has been a backward giant offering vast economic and trade potential. The Chinese want to build up agriculture and expand oil production to provide exports that will enable them to import technology to develop their coal reserves and petro-chemical industry. The U.S. businessmen foresee a promising market potential in these areas. The U.S. trade with China is expected to rise to over \$ 700 million this year.

In May 1978, Mr. Zhigniew Brezezinski, a hardliner where the Russians are concerned, visited Peking and told his hosts that the Carter administration believed that China and the United States shared strategic interests and added that "a strong and secure" China was in the U.S. national interest. Moreover the

Chinese were also given to understand that the United States would not raise objections if they purchased certain defensive weapons, such as antitank missiles and short-range aircraft from the Western countries.

The Chinese on their part are trying to upset the Russian apple-cart in all possible ways. China had always deprecated all attempts towards detente among the Great Powers. It has been opposing the European Security Conference at Helsinki: its only outcome, according to China, was to project the Soviet Union as "a God in Europe". It has been advising the NATO countries to follow a more aggressive policy towards the USSR.

It has unabashedly supported the former imperialist powers supported by the U.S. in their attempts to stage a comeback in Africa on the ground that, otherwise, the Soviet Union would grab Africa. The anti-hegemony clause in the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Friendship is obviously intended against the Soviet Union. And, contrary to the almost unanimous demand of the littoral states of the Indian Ocean and the resolutions passed in the U.N., it has been urging the U.S. to continue its bases and operations in the Indian ocean. It has been encouraging the renewal of the Cold War and is opposed to liberation movements. China's break with newly independent Vietnam and a long-time friend Albania is a clear pointer to its Machiavellian policies.

Meanwhile China has been trying to wean away other communist countries from the Russian camp on the one hand and to strengthen its relations with the U.S. and other Western countries in the other.

Growing Sino-U.S. collaboration is an important factor of the present international situation. In fact, this cooperation would seem to have reached the level of an alliance in recent years.

It was also not surprising that during the U.S. visit of Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping early this year a number of bilateral agreements in scientific and cultural spheres were signed to start a new era of co-operation between the United States and China. During the visit Mr. Deng gave a call to the United States, Japan, Western Europe and the Third World to join China in "solid, down-to-earth united action" to thwart so-called Soviet aggression around the globe.

The Chinese attack on Vietnam was a manifestation of Chinese anger over Vietnam's pro-USSR posture and its refusal to endorse the Chinese flirtation with the U.S. Unfortunately for China, instead of teaching a lesson to

Vietnam, they themselves learnt a lesson in fighting from the Vietnamese.

Thus as a consequence of Sino-Soviet antagonism, the world has been under a great stress and danger of war, as the Chinese were adopting a tough line towards pro-Moscow States and the dangers of an armed conflict in Asia, escalating into a super power war, at the instigation of Beijing have always been there.

The formal abrogation of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty, which was signed in 1950 in April last was in keeping with the Chinese intentions to join the Western alignment. The treaty which had in the fifties offered protection to China, had become infructuous following the Sino-Soviet antagonism over leadership issue and the Beijing initiative to forge strong links with Western countries like the USA and Japan since the early seventies culminating in Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty of August, 1978 to check Soviet "Hegemonism". In any case, the abrogation of the treaty signalled the Chinese satisfaction over new alignments.

However, peace-loving Third World countries were appropriately perturbed over China's love for imperialist countries. Happily

China has responded positively to a Soviet proposal for talks on bilateral issues. The fact that China has for the first time agreed to talks without pre-conditions indicates the Chinese leadership's awareness of changing realities of world situation. SALT II must have come as a damper to China. Again, the energy crisis has highlighted the helplessness of the U.S.A., Japan, and Western countries in relation to Gulf countries, which are getting closer to Soviet Russia. The American failure in Iran and the Russian success in Afghanistan coupled with China's misadventure in Vietnam have sobered down China.

Though a settlement on the contentious issues between China and the Soviet Union will take time, the atmosphere created by the proposed negotiations to start in the second half of September would have far reaching consequences. The Soviet Union will welcome the chance of cutting down on its troop strength on the borders with China, while the latter will also find it helpful to increase its trade with the Soviet Union. In the event of an accommodation between the two Communist giants, the U.S. will be deprived of its "China Card", but the world will be a safer place to live in.



ENERGY CRISIS IN INDIA—SOME SUGGESTIONS

J. COELHO*

In 1969 crude oil prices were slightly over \$ one a barrel, and often just about \$ one after the discounts most oil companies gave under the table. Ten years later, in 1979, oil prices were shooting up by \$ one a month, and had gone up from \$ 13 a barrel in December 1978 to \$ 27 a barrel in January 1980. In the Rotterdam "spot" market, where users bid for supplies not tied up under long-term contracts, prices have risen as high as \$ 40 a barrel. At this rate, many oil specialists are calculating that, by this time next year, oil prices may well touch \$ 50 a barrel.

In the industrialised countries, the effects of the escalating prices vary from area to area. Inflation has been speeding up throughout Europe and Japan, and will be accelerated further by the oil increase. But in the other six summit countries, unlike the U.S., economic growth has been showing signs of revival. But output and employment will inevitably slow as petroleum prices soar. How bad will the recession that has apparently begun in the U.S. become? That depends heavily on whether OPEC can somehow be persuaded to stop the price spiral at its present point,—a forlorn hope.

Far too much is at stake for the world to tolerate for too long the problem of rising prices from erratic suppliers.

India has signed contracts for imports of 15.5 million tonnes of crude as against the total requirement of 16.6 million for 1980. The contract for the remaining 1.1 million tonnes is expected to be concluded very shortly with Iraq.

The indigenous production of crude in 1980-81 will be 14.8 million tonnes, including

5.5 million tonnes from Bombay High. It will go up to 18.1 million tonnes, including 9 million tonnes from Bombay High, by 1982-83. The demand for petroleum products is increasing fast and, as against a growth rate of 5 per cent last year, it is expected to be 10 per cent this year. In fact, the growth rate for diesel and kerosene will be higher at 16 per cent.

With the price of crude increasing periodically in the international market, the import bill has risen from Rs. 1,654 crores in 1978 to Rs. 3,804 crores in 1978, and this year it is expected to be above Rs. 5,000 crores. Consequent to the oil price rise, India will also be required to pay substantially more for imported fertilizers and petro-chemical products, not to speak of other items like aluminium, steel and non-ferrous metals which are presently in short supply. All this will lead to a sharp erosion in our present somewhat comfortable foreign exchange reserves.

All that the seven top non-Communist industrialised countries have succeeded in doing so far is to agree on the principle that the production of synthetic fuels should be encouraged, production of coal and nuclear fuels increased and crude imports curtailed. There is no concrete follow-up to these pious resolutions. In the meantime, the OPEC countries show no disposition to raise production to ease shortages.

The poorer countries may start the same way as the oil producers did,—by doubling or quadrupling the price of their raw materials, the bulk of which are bought by the richer countries. There is no reason why they cannot do so with iron ore, bauxite and other minerals that are going dirt cheap. For a start, the iron

ore countries could get together—Australia is one of them—and raise their prices five-fold. The same could be done with tea, which is also grown by poor countries. But, of course, nothing like this will happen.

Alternative Sources Of Energy

Those who do not have oil resources of their own or have to meet a large part of their needs through imports have of necessity to do all they can to explore and exploit alternative sources of energy and discourage the development of industries making oilbased substitutes for agricultural product like natural fibres. They also need to guard against basing agricultural development entirely on chemical fertilizers. Someone has calculated that if the whole of world agriculture were to be run on the U.S. model, the fertilizer industry alone would use up the larger part of the crude production today. They have to plan for a life style which they can keep up through their own resources.

The consumption of power per unit increase in GNP in India is among the highest in the world. This is plainly due to inefficiency of industry, the obsolete technology in use, the uneconomic of units, poor roads, unduly high losses in transmission and other factors. Nor can the country rely more on non-commercial sources of energy—firewood, vegetable waste and cowdung—for the foreseeable future. For one thing, such fuels can only be used for a few cottage industries like brick-making, potteries and Khandasari and are of no avail in meeting the demands of modern transport, industry and even homes. In fact, their share in the total energy consumption has already declined from 55 per cent in 1963-64 to less than 44 per cent and is likely to go down further with increasing urbanisation.

Sugar technologists say that alcohol power is not a cheaper alternative to gasolise, but it can reduce oil import bills and stimulate

domestic agricultural industries in oil-starved countries.

A 30 per cent saving in lube oil consumption is possible if adequate attention is paid to re-refining and waste re-use. The re-refined oil will not lose any of its properties, and the residual sludge can yield certain useful by-products. About half-a-million tonnes of lube oil is consumed in the country now, a major part being used by the railways and the defense department. Only five per cent of the waste from recognised industries is being re-refined now, against a possible throughput of 30 per cent or 100,000 to 50,000 tonnes. For a throughput of 500 to 1000 tonnes per annum, an investment of Rs. 5 lacs is needed. The idea of re-refining is catching on in the U. S. A.

Practical Approach

The answer to the Indian problem clearly lies in greater effort to tap the nation's vast resources in hydel power. Though these are concentrated in Himachal Pradesh, Kashmir and the north-east region, there is no reason why much more cannot be done now to exploit their potential. It is true, as the Planning Commission has pointed out, that they are located in relatively inaccessible areas. But quite apart from the fact that the country has few options, it is much easier to transmit power over long distance than to transmit coal for generating thermal capacity. Secondly, much more can be done to reduce wastage in the entire field of power generation, transmission and consumption. Utilisation of installed capacity in thermal plants, which is as low as 25 per cent in West Bengal and no more than 48 per cent in the country as a whole needs to be stepped up. Finally, pricing policies for coal, power and petroleum products should be drastically overhauled. At the

moment, electricity and coal are grossly under-priced, while the bulk of the tax revenue from petroleum products is derived from drivers of products is cars, mopeds and manufacturers of synthetic fibres.

But, of course, the sun remains our most promising source of energy. In fact, anyone

with an idea of some merit can go into the solar business profitably.

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SOVIET-INDIAN COOPERATION IN FOOD INDUSTRY

V. Korneyev writes for the USSR Information Deptt.—

A protocol was signed in Moscow, which provides for the development of Soviet-Indian cooperation in food industry.

In the past few years India has been exporting ever more foodstuffs. In the first four months of this fiscal year Indian exports grew by 30 per cent against the same period of 1978-1979 fiscal year and was more than 450,000,000 rupees worth.

Of great significance for the further growth of foodstuffs processing, canning and export is the outfitting of Indian factories with new equipment and technology.

Soviet-Indian cooperation in this field will play an important role in the solution of this problem. It is not by chance that the questions of the development of Soviet-Indian cooperation in food industry found their solution in the long-term programme of economic, trade, scientific and technical cooperation signed during the visit of Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to India in March 1979. The programme says in part that Soviet and Indian organisations

will further develop cooperation in improving technology and equipment for the production and processing of fruits and vegetables, as well as in the expansion and modernisation of the existing enterprises and in setting up of export-oriented plants. Moreover, the programme stipulates the development of cooperation between the two countries in the field of nutritious food for children and volatile oil bearing crops.

The first step in the implementation of the provisions of the long-term programme of cooperation and the protocol of the fifth session of the Soviet-Indian Inter-Governmental Commission on economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the said fields were the negotiations between a group of Indian food experts and a group of Soviet specialists, recently held in Moscow.

The Indian delegation visited the enterprises and research institutes of food industry in Moldavia, Georgia and Moscow, and was received by V. Penenkov, Deputy Minister of the Food Industry of the USSR. In the course of the talks and negotiations, Soviet and Indian experts exchanged opinion on the likely trends

and shapes of cooperation in food industry.

The protocol signed upon the completion of the negotiations, says that the parties agreed to take practical measures to help India establish capacities for production of specialised own items and for aseptic canning of fruits and vegetables, with the view to exporting them. Moreover an agreement has been reached on cooperation in establishing in India capacities for production of volatile oils on the basis of plant raw materials with the use of Soviet technology. The climatic conditions of India are

most favourable for volatile oil bearing crops.

The experts have also reached an accord on exchanges of information between the research organisations of the two countries in the field of canning and volatile oil producing industries, and the exchanges of experts in these fields.

All the above-said is an example of the practical implementation of activities aimed at the development of cooperation between India and the USSR in food industry, this vital branch of economy.

THE KING AND THE QUEEN OF OUDH

SWARNAKAMAL BHATTACHARYYA

"King of Oudh, however, writes Edward Gilliat (in his book, 'Heroes of Modern India') behaved with more dignity than had been expected of him, he resolutely refused to sign the paper which dethroned him. They (Governor General and other East India Coy's servants) tried persuasions and threats—all in vain. He uncovered himself and placed his turban in the hands of Outram declaring that now his titles, rank and position were all gone, it was not for him to sign a treaty—he was in the hands of the British Govt. which had seated His Majesty's Grand Father on the throne and could at pleasure consign him to 'obscurity'".

Thus the King Wazed Ali Shah most heroically abdicated his throne of the Kingdom of Oudh which his forefathers had been enjoying from the year 1700 AD to 1847. He did not touch the treaty which Lord Dalhousie had drafted. He perhaps recollected easily the friendship the family of Queen Victoria had with family of the Kings of Oudh, and the previous Governor Generals who lived most amicably with his father, Amzad Ali Shah and Grand Father King Mohammad Ali. Colonel John Low actually helped the King Mohammad Ali (1837-42), the Grand father of King Wazed Ali Shah, in gaining the throne when a dispute on the same had arisen.

A visit by the Governor General and his entourage was a regular occasion (in Lucknow) writes Mark Bence Jones in his book, 'Palaces of the Raj, Lord Auckland and his sisters came at the end of 1837, their party including the young Prince. Henry of Orange, the first European Royalty to go on a pleasure trip to India. The King (Mohammad Ali Shah) entertained the Governor General and his party to break-fast and there was the usual exchange of presents. Prince Henry much to his delight was allowed to keep the presents which the King gave him.

'The Prince of Orange was charmed with his evening' wrote Emily who noticed how illumination on the far bank spelt out in huge letters God save Lord Auckland, Governor General of India, God save the King of Oudh, and after a full-stop, Colonel Low, the Resident of Lucknow.'

King Amzad Ali Shah (1842-47) was virtually a saint King. He founded a free Madrasa in Lucknow, the biggest institution in India at that time. The learned King himself used to teach in that Madrasa to inspire the teachers and the students. His benevolent activities for the welfare of his subjects have been narrated in Tareekh-e-Avadh KA Muktasir Jaeza by Janab Aamzad Ali Khan. This book further narrates how the poet, King Wazed Ali Shah (1847-56) used to find out the grievances of the subjects when he went out to walk in the streets of Lucknow and how quickly he arranged for redressing them.

The East India Company always made anti-propaganda against the poet king as excuses for deposing him arbitrarily. Martin Bence Jones has described how the beautiful city of Lucknow was darkened after the king was deposed. Oudh had been annexed by East India Coy at the instigation of Lord Dalhousie; the last king Wazed Ali had been deposed, and banished to Calcutta. The Court with all its colour and extravagance was

a thing of the past. Its abolition had rendered half the city to beggary for not only did the actual Court functionaries, servants, musicians, and entertainers rely on it for the livelihood, but also the craftsmen and trades people.'

Wazed Ali Shah was born on 30th July, 1822. He was very intelligent and while very young he mastered several languages, such as Persian, Sanskrit and Urdu. He actually started writings poems in Urdu and Persian while he was 11 to 14 years of age. He was trained by his learned father king Amzad Ali Shah who cared most for the welfare of his subjects. King Wazed Ali Shah came to the throne in 1847 after the demise of his noble father. He not merely did write poems, he was also a great patron of poets. The poet Ghalib, a subject of Emperor Bahadur Shah enjoyed a pension of Rs.500/ p. m. from King Wazed Ali Shah. He remembered the great fame of his fore-fathers specially of the benevolence of Nawab Asafudowla whose services to the people turned into a proverb. It reads—

ZIS KO NA DE MOULA
TIS KO DE ASAFODOULA

It meant—

'To him did Asafudoula give
To whom God did not give.

He abolished the old Parikhana that was the traditional entrance hall to the King's harem. He did instead build up an institution for training of talented girls in literature music, and dance. Most talented among the girls receiving training in the newly oriented institute was Mahakpari—the daughter of a Fauzdar in his army who belonged to Syed family. Story tellers say that she won the King's heart only by her dances. But actually what happened later proves that the King appreciated her the most for her qualities of head and heart not merely for her fragrant body. She quickly learnt the languages and literature and was

well versed in Persian and Urdu poems. She herself could compose poems. She had the capability to control and guide the revolutionary leaders of the Govt. that took possession of the whole of Oudh after General Outram was allowed by Queen Hazrat Mahal to quit the besieged garrison where Commissioner of Lucknow lay trapped with a large number of sick soldiers, women and children. The independent Government of Oudh with King Birges Kador as its head ruled over the kingdom upto 11th March : 1858. When Queen Victoria issued a proclamation, Queen Mazrat Mahal issued a counter proclamation to the people of India warning them not to believe in such false hopes. She knew how savage and treacherous the English people had been during those days. People of India came to realize how futile the Queen's talks of mercy had been. Benjamin Disraeli expressed his violent thoughts in the most harsh and cruel words :—

“When the rebellion has been crushed out from the Himalayas to Comorin, where every gibbet is red with blood, when every bayonet creates beneath its ghastly burden, when the ground in front of every canon is strewn with rags and flesh and shattered bone—then talk of mercy. Then you may find some to listen. This is not the time”.

From these words one should have a clear idea of the grim battle fought by the patriotic army for the liberation of the country from the British Yoke.

The King Birges Kader was very young at the time he had to leave his kingdom with his mother. Some say he was only ten at that time, but a poem written by his father, King Wazed Ali Shah ‘Aktar’ (pen-name of the king) shows him to be of 14 years of age. The poems reads as follows :—

BIRGES KADER

Oh Hai Choutha Shahjada Jo raske badr,
Ose log kahte hain Birges Kadr,
Oh chaudha baras Ke hai kuch Shak
Kahoon kia ki Oh hai kahin ka kahi,
Mile jo hajrat Se lafje Mahal
To nam Oski Maka Fule bar Mahal.
Jo bigree thee aghese Angreji Fauz
Ose Le gayee Jaisee dariak Mouz,
Oh mahe kabjae muf sadat main hai ‘AA’
Banaya hai apna ose badshah.

These lines portray the deep affections the poet king felt for the eldest surviving son (though the fourth) who drove away the English forces and ultimately had the misfortunes as his king.

The King Wazed Ali Shah was not in the good books of the unkind Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, who actually feared the popularity of the poet king and managed to depose him and keep him captive in the palace at Garden Reach (Muchikhola) in 1855 i. e. long before the revolution against the British tyranny began in 1857. Lord Canning, the next Governor General, did not allow him to live in the palace at Muchi Khola (the present Head Quarters of S.E. Railway in Calcutta since 1887) and shifted the captive king to the Fort William out of fear, when the revolution broke out.

Michael Edward writes in his book. ‘(Red Year) :—

“Stories of what was going on in Oudh and there was no need for exaggeration—were assiduously circulated among the members of the Bengal Army in the first months of 1857. Some were traced to the exiled court at Garden Reach. In June the King and his closest advisors were taken into protective custody and lodged in Fort William. Whether he was guilty or not (and not guilty seems the more likely) it did not really matter. The damage had been done”.

Truth to tell India's struggle against the British rules started from the moment the King Wazed Ali Shah refused flatly to sign the treaty.

The British Govt. had great suspicion about the aims and ambitions of the captive king. They could do nothing against him as no direct proof could be found. They also feared him for his popularity which could not be drowned by the false propaganda made against him. Begum Hazrat Mahal though used to the exotic luxuries in the King's palace in Lucknow threw herself into a sea of miseries that she had to suffer for her patriotism. The W. H. Russel, war correspondent of London Times in India in 1857 had commented, "This Begum exhibits energy and ability. She had excited all Oudh to take up the interests of her son, and the chieftains have sworn to be faithful to him (King Birges Kader).

King Wazed Ali Shah had written over hundred books of poems and over 60 books could be traced in printed form.

Begum Hazrat Mahal also could write poems in Urdu and Persian. Her long years in Nepal from 1859 to 1879, the year of her demise, she passed in solemn surrender to the will of God and in writing poems etc. One of

her poems published in Shib Tainabal Gazette of 7.4.1979 quoted below will prove how patriotic and spirited she had been.

Nam Malkah Ka mita den Iya Thi

Angrejon Ki bhul

Buj dili ki jahan nisan se

hatadi jisne dhul,

Halkae dame golami jara aton se torh-ke,

Mulk par bik ra di-e har simat

ajadi ke phool.

It means : "The English thought that they could efface the name of Malka Hazrat Mahal. This was but their mistake. Their close-hearted brainless acts reduced men into beasts.

The chain of slavery that kept everyone in bondage we tore into pieces in the grim battle and spread the flowers of freedom all around."

The Queen expired in Nepal on 7th April, 1879 and then the King followed her to Heaven in his palace at Metiabruz on 20.9. 1887. He was buried in the Sibtaiwabad Mausoleum in Metiabruz which was duly constructed already by him.

Pray to God that the flowers of freedom spread over the whole of India by Queen Hazrat Mahal in 1857 may flourish for ever and ever and ever and never fade.



STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR FERNANDO

B. P. KIRTHISINGHE

Every Wesak Fullmoon day is a reminder to humanity and particularly to Buddhists the world over of the sacred event thrice blessed with the Buddha's advent, enlightenment and passing away. Every year we mark the occasion with solemn homage to the blessed one at religious and other gatherings of grateful disciples the world over.

The message of the Buddha has been well expounded by many who are more competent to do so than me. However, as the representative of a country to the United Nations I would wish to share my thoughts on certain aspects that affect my daily life as a diplomat. As you are well aware, the world and the international community are going through a traumatic period in its history. This is generally due to a failure to devise adequate responses to meet new challenges. Mankind at each period of its history cherishes the illusion of the finality of its existing mode of knowledge. This illusion breeds intolerance and fanaticism of various degrees and modes. The world has bled and suffered from the disease of dogmatism and conformity.

Those who are conscious of a mission to bring the rest of humanity to their own way of life have been aggressive towards other ways of life. This ambition to make disciples of all nations is not the invention of one country or of any particular period of our history. So long as ambition of this nature prevails, intolerance and resulting conflicts are inevitable. These very ambitions lead to selfish craving, fear and passion.

Lord Buddha gave us a message aimed at a spiritual experience in which all selfish craving

is extinct and with it every fear and passion. The arms race which is absorbing more than 400 billion dollars of the resources of mankind and the largest part of scientific knowledge and resources is obviously due to fear. Nations indulge in this arms race despite the knowledge that a fraction of such resources would eradicate poverty and hunger in this world. Even the biggest obstacle to disarmament is fear. Nations are a collection of individuals and the international community is a collection of nations. The cravings, fears and ambitions of individuals find their way to policies of governments which in turn affect the harmony and stability of the world. Lord Buddha gave us a message of deliverance from this bondage which has universal application not only to individuals but equally valid to relations between nations.

Turning to another aspect, may I share my thoughts regarding the United Nations Organisation. You would appreciate that in many ways the Second World War was the turning point in the history of nations. The holocaust and misery it caused may be looked upon as the birth pangs of a new world forum—the United Nations Organisation. The people around the world looked upon this new organisation with hopes to contain the forces of strife, conflicts and wars between nations and more particularly a just and better world. Those hopes have not been realised in full measure, though the organisation is indispensable and has proved its limited effectiveness. The armament race which at that time was just entering a new era of terror of unimaginable magnitude has now escalated to limits of being more than capable of destroying entire man-

kind in a few brief moments of callousness by man. The vestiges of colonialism, imperialism in many facets and the degrading policies of apartheid still continue to elude us without permanent eradication. The struggle still persists despite the cherished ideals and hopes of mankind. In many of these aspects the world body has been inadequate and at times even impotent despite the aspirations of mankind and the result is a chaotic condition in world affairs. It is obvious that the chaotic condition of world affairs reflect the chaos in the lives of human beings. We are obviously suffering from an exhaustion of spirit, an increase of egotism, fear and greed individual and collective, which seem to make the ideal of a world society too difficult to desire on the part of certain quarters. The chaotic condition of world affairs reflect the chaos in individual lives and aspirations. For a situation such as this, Lord Buddha gave his great message to humanity that the enemy we have to fight is within ourselves. Regarding fear which engulfs many international problems the Blessed One enunciated that we must cast off all fear except that of wrong-doing. The relevance of his doctrine particularly the Noble Eightfold Path to international relations is obvious. Nations must also conquer themselves as much as individuals if we are to realise a world free of strife, wars and conflicts.

My country, Sri Lanka, proudly plays an active and constructive role in the group of Non-Aligned countries. The concept of Non-Alignment owes its entire existence and sustenance to an inspiration derived from the teachings of Lord Buddha. The Blessed One enunciated the Majjhima Patipade or the Middle Path as a means of deliverance from the extremes of sensual indulgence and self mortification which lead to no beneficial

results. In the contemporary world after World War II there arose the confrontation between the so-called two super power blocs with the apparent necessity to align with one or the other of the two blocs. The newly emerging nations to freedom and the other third world countries constituted the Non-Aligned group of countries with a policy of non-alignment in international relations free from great power and bloc rivalry and influence as the only rational course to obtain peace and a more just world order. Just as much as the message of the Buddha regarding the middle path is not a negative concept but has practical positive application, without bias or prejudice, the Non-Aligned principles in international relations has positive aspects such as its struggle against imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and domination and the incessant striving for disarmament, non-interference in affairs of other States and a new international economic order. The Non-Aligned Movement despite the criticisms against it at the earlier stages has now earned the well deserved respect and justification for its policies. This policy exercising an independent judgment, resisting any pull made by the super powers to be drawn into either of those camps, has proved to be one of the landmarks of man's conduct in international relations.

The cherished and supreme message of Lord Buddha has not only importance to individuals to free themselves but also has invaluable importance to nations to promote peace, wisdom and a just and more equitable human relations in this world. Buddha's humanism crossed racial and national barriers and on this occasion it is my humble duty to pay homage to the Blessed One and his teachings. According to the traditions of Sri Lanka please permit me to wish everyone of you the blessings of the Triple Gem.

ETHICS IN TAX PRACTICE

Dr. R. M. LALL

It is almost a craze to preach and practise what is known as 'tax avoidance' and shun what is regarded as 'tax evasion'. The distinction between these two expressions depends on the legality or otherwise of a particular course of action. Evasion means the flouting of the law by fraudulent means including deliberate concealment, declaring deductions in the full knowledge of their nonentitlement and so on. On the other hand, avoidance implies an implicit obedience to law. It amounts to the exploitation of the form in which the law is framed with a view to securing advantages. This course may, but does not necessarily, seek to find loopholes in law. Administrators of laws come down with heavy hands on the tax evader while the tax avoider goes scot free. Judicial pronouncements are at the back of the latter. "No man in this country is under the smallest obligation, moral or other, so to arrange his legal relations to his business or to his property as to enable the Inland Revenue to put the largest possible shovel into his stores": *Ayrshire Pullman Motor Service v. C.I.R.*, 14 TC, 754, 763; *C.I.R. v. Fisher's Executors*, 10 TC, 302, 336 (H.L.); *A. G. v. Richmond of Gordon*, 2 KB, 729, 793. Another equally authoritative judgment lays down, "Every man is entitled if he can order his affairs so that the tax attaching under the appropriate Acts is less than it otherwise would be. If he succeeds in ordering them so as to secure this result, then, however unappreciative the Commissioner of Inland Revenue or his fellow taxpayers may be, of his ingenuity, he cannot be compelled to pay an increased tax": *C.I.T. v. Mercantile Bank of India*, 4 ITR 239,

248 (P.C.).

So the cry is avoid 'evasion' and accept 'avoidance'. But how far is the cry justified? Should we examine this question purely from the viewpoint of law and nothing but the law? To me, the answer is a 'No'. I hold that all tax evasion is not reprehensible and all tax avoidance not commendable. Why should it be presumed, that what is allowed by the law is always just?

It bears no repetition that all tax laws are not necessarily good laws. They are not framed in accordance with the cardinal principles of jurisprudence. They are not founded, except by accident, on the principles of equity, justice and good conscience. These laws are strictly construed and in their interpretation equity is considered a foreigner. Above all, the sanction behind these laws is the authority of the State and not the common will of the people. To cite an example, by means of deeming provisions income tax is levied on items which are not incomes or on people who do not earn or enjoy incomes. To make another example, if in a sale transaction you value your property at Rs. 10 lakhs and the department values it at Rs. 20 lakhs, the law empowers the department to acquire it at Rs. 10 lakhs plus 15% but at the same time it gives no right to you to sell it to the department at the value placed by it. Similarly the law gives the right to the department to back assessment where its interests had suffered in the past but does not give a similar right to the subject in similar circumstances. Then where is the justification in levying taxes at confiscatory rates? Apart from the tax laws being so unethical, the money realised as taxes

is not wholly, exclusively and necessarily expended over the maximization of the national welfare. Judge the government expenditure by any measure, just to find what colossal waste is involved therein. A moot question arises : In such a situation, if we obey laws, do we not thereby become a party to these injustices and wastages? Is then a tax evader not a better citizen who refrains from such wrong doings, earns the money, runs a parallel economy and thereby contributes to employment, productivity and welfare? Should we not learn to respect only the just laws?

Another basic question is : How far can the acts of the tax avoider be regarded as a commendable exercise of ingenuity or as a discharge of the duties of good citizenship? After all, when he succeeds in his design, he does pass on the extra load of taxation to those who do not possess either the will or the ability to practise similar manoeuvres. I think, on merit, except that it is lawful, tax avoidance has little to commend. It is not founded on any fundamental principle of enduring nature. Is it not a fact that by means of frequent amendment to laws, what was at one time considered to be within the periphery of tax avoidance was brought within the fold of tax evasion?

From the point of view of ethics, tax avoidance may be legitimate or illegitimate, no doubt. At times it is difficult to pronounce which side of the line it falls. Just consider these situations. To reduce the tax burden, A divorces his wife in a court of law but otherwise in all respects they live as before. B, a chartered accountant with a roaring practice, gives a large portion of his practice to others, just to save taxes, or forms a few partnerships with different persons in respect of different

specialised fields. C, a man of great resourcefulness takes to agriculture instead of business as a source of earnings. D, a multimillionaire, fearing a rise in car prices as a result of increased taxes, purchases a fleet of cars in advance. E, a well-to-do officer gives up smoking altogether in view of increased duties on cigarettes. F, sells his properties and makes a settlement of the proceeds in favour of his wife and children and survives the statutory period. Are all these instances of tax avoidance legitimate and none reprehensible? How does the act of F stand out differently from the case of G who makes a settlement but fails to survive the statutory period? Likewise, there are so many other techniques of tax planning, but are they all legitimate? The answer is hardly an unqualified yes.

A person is labelled a tax evader. His motive is pronounced impure. Heavy punishment is meted out to him. Just imagine, under the income tax law, for concealment of income, say of Rs. 1 lakh, the cumulative penalties could be as much as Rs. 4.4 lakhs, besides imprisonment. Was it a just law?

In bringing the tax evader to book, we examine his motive and come with a heavy hand on him? Is that fair? When we examine the motive of the tax payer, should we not also examine the motive of the law makers? One who does not practise morality, I think, has no moral right to frame laws by which to judge the morality of others.

The malady arises because of the attitude of the law makers who are constantly obsessed with the idea that the need of the hour is just enacting anti-avoidance tax laws. I think the remedy lies in improving upon the technique of framing tax laws, identifying the scope and concept of tax in a concise manner and simplifying the devices for tax avoidance.

SOVIET-AFGHAN RELATIONS

Prof. YURI CANKOVSKY

Anyone keen on the history of relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan can find enough evidence in medieval Moslem chronicles to see that the bonds of friendship between the peoples that lived within the present borders of the two countries existed many centuries ago. For example, a prominent Moslem historian of the 9th century of the Hegira Abdul Razzak Samarkandi reported in his chronicle "Matle as-saadain" that a Russian embassy arrived at the court of the Herat ruler—Sultan Abu Said (the famous Babur, the founder of the empire of the great Moguls, was his grand-son) in the year 869 of the Hegira, "with expressions of love and friendship which Abu Said repaid with great attention and honour." An embassy from Herat was in Moscow about the same time, close on five hundred years ago. The states which existed on what is today the territory of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan maintained not only diplomatic, but also extensive economic, trading and cultural contacts in the 15th through 18th centuries. These contacts were not interrupted even in the 19th century when Afghanistan became an object of expansionism by British colonialists. It was only after the 1917 October Revolution in Russia that Afghanistan had favourable opportunities opening up before her for the restoration of her full sovereignty and independence.

The news of the revolution in Russia and the Soviet Government's decrees and address fetched a sympathetic response in Moslem countries, including Afghanistan.

A new government led by Emir Amanullah came to power in Afghanistan on February 28,

1919. As early as March 3, 1919, it declared, in a letter to the British authorities, that it was restoring the country's full independence. However, Britain refused to recognise the independence of Afghanistan. In these critical circumstances the Soviet Government, with Lenin as Chairman, told Britain and also the United States about the necessity for all the powers attending the then Paris Peace Conference to guarantee refraining from the use of force for the overthrow of the government of independent Afghanistan. On March 27, 1919, Soviet Russia, being the first of all the nations of the world to do so, announced its recognition of Afghanistan's full state independence and national sovereignty.

The attempts of the colonialists to prevent the reestablishment of Afghanistan's independence ended in failure. A peace treaty whereby Britain recognised the full independence of Afghanistan was signed in Rawalpindi on August 8, 1919.

The government of Afghanistan highly appreciated the moral and diplomatic backing which Soviet Russia had given her during her war for independence. In a special note to Moscow, it said: "Afghanistan has found lying in the north the free and fair Russia and heard her voice of love and alliance."

The first Soviet diplomatic mission arrived in Kabul in August 1919. Although Soviet Russia was in exceptionally hard circumstances at the time, having to repel the onslaught of foreign invaders and home-grown counter-revolutionary forces, she did offer substantial unrepayable financial material and military aid to Afghanistan.

A Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship was concluded on February 28, 1921. That was the first equal treaty which independent Afghanistan had ever concluded with a great power. The treaty of neutrality and mutual non-aggression (Paghman pact) was concluded, as a follow-up to it, on August 31. It legally formalised the traditional Afghan policy of neutrality in an important international document.

In the twenties the Soviet Union rendered considerable economic, technical and military assistance to Afghanistan. Determined to facilitate Afghanistan's economic progress, the Soviet Government allowed a duty-free import of a number of Afghanistan's traditional goods to the USSR. At the same time the Soviet Union supplied Afghanistan with machine tools equipment, farm machinery, cement and other manufactured goods, on easy terms. Soviet specialists participated in the construction of a number of major economic projects on the territory of Afghanistan (as lines of communication, and power stations) with Soviet equipment installed.

Soviet-Afghan cooperation continued in the subsequent years as well. In 1932, when the capitalist countries were shaken by a world crisis, the USSR took the lead in Afghan exports and came second in her imports. A factor which, undoubtedly, contributed towards the development of relations between the two states was the policy of principle which the Soviet Union invariably abided by in its relations with Afghanistan (as, indeed, with other eastern countries): consistent support for the country's state independence and territorial integrity, non-intervention in its internal affairs, assistance in the development of its national economy and culture, cooperation in protecting the nation's sovereignty against the encroachments of imperialism and its allies.

With the civil war raging in Afghanistan in 1928-1929, the Soviet Government declared

that it "refrained from any interference whatsoever in the intense home fighting taking place in this country and from supporting any one group against another, its only concern being to see that there is no such interference from other countries bordering on Afghanistan."

A new Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-aggression was signed on June 24, 1931, emphasising the full equality of the parties concerned and the significance of the principles of peaceful coexistences upporting the friendly relations of the two countries.

The development of Soviet-Afghan relations in the thirties played an important part in frustrating the plans of imperialist powers to turn the territory of Afghanistan into a bridgehead for aggression against the USSR and in forestalling their attempts to draw the country into war and helped Afghanistan preserve her neutrality during the second world war, which spared the Afghan people the danger of suffering and severe privation. In 1941, after Hitler Germany's perfidious attack on the Soviet Union, the operation of German fascist agents was cut short in Afghanistan by decision of the country's government.

After the end of the second world war crowned with the defeat of Hitler Germany and her allies, Soviet-Afghan relations continued in the ascendant. The community of the basic interests of the Soviet and Afghan peoples in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism was the keystone of the development.

The two countries have signed a series of treaties during the post-war years to promote yet closer Soviet-Afghan cooperation in political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural areas.

Over 80 projects of national economic importance have been built in Afghanistan with Soviet assistance since 1945. These have served to train over 50,000 Afghan citizens in up-to-date trades. Thousands of Afghan youths

received an education at the Kabul Polytechnical Institute erected with Soviet cooperation. In the early seventies Soviet aid accounted for 70 per cent of the entire foreign aid received by Afghanistan. The Soviet Union had a nearly 40 per cent share of the Afghan foreign trade exchange.

Fundamentally new and favourable opportunities have arisen for the continued consolidation of friendship and fruitful cooperation between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union after the revolution of April 27, 1978, and the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The USSR was the first to recognise the revolutionary government of Afghanistan.

Soviet-Afghan relations are developing on a stable, long term and mutually advantageous basis in all areas, taking on more and more substance. The links between mass organisations, as well as scientific and cultural institutions of the Soviet Union and the democratic republic of Afghanistan have increased since the April revolution, therefore contributing to a closer friendship between the peoples of both countries and their better knowledge of each other's daily round, work and experiences in building their new way of life.

A treaty of friendship, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation between the USSR and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was signed in December 1978 and so was an agreement setting up a permanent intergovernmental Soviet-Afghan Commission for economic cooperation. The Soviet Union, to meet the Afghan desires, has announced its readiness to offer its assistance to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in drafting her first five-year economic and social development plan.

While helping the Afghan people build their new life, as the USSR did always in the past, the Soviet Union is strongly opposed to all foreign intervention in this country's affairs. The history of Soviet-Afghan relations conclusively proves that cooperation between the USSR and Afghanistan has invariably served and continue to serve not only the vital interests of the people of the two countries, but produces a favourable effect on the international situation in the Middle East area and South Asia, which is entirely in agreement with the interests of the peace-loving nations and peoples all over the world.

(Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.)



GANDHIJI'S IDEA OF THE BHAGAWAT GITA

In the shaping of the moral and religious forces that contributed in the main to Gandhiji's philosophy of life, the Bhagawad Gita (song celestial) was the most infallible and constant guide in his daily life. He read the Gita and the yoga sutras, and the Gita was his great gospel of faith all his life. He like a true rishi wanted to practice Aparigraha (giving up all possessions) and sama bhava (considering all as equals). He without doubt firmly believed that the Satyagraha movement whether successful or otherwise, was essentially a cardinal teaching of the Gita. He argued, that after all, Satyagraha is nothing if not a practical application of Karmayoga as taught in the Gita. Irrespective of its consequences, the Satyagraha movement, to all intents and purposes, was chiefly a self-purifying movement which to the end of his life was an article of faith with him.

To him real Satyagraha was that one should never go astray and one should inspire confidence in his adversaries that he's pure, in thought, word and deed, and bears no malice or ill-will or the least trace of anger. In brief, it means that resistance is offered by soul force as against physical force and stands up to vindicate the truth for which it stands.

Some persons while accepting Gandhiji's implicit faith in the Gita, object to his creed of non-violence because they think that it is opposed to the essential teachings of the Gita. A firm believer in Karmayoga (doing one's duty for its own sake) could never believe in non-violence in any manner whatsoever.

Let us see how far their objection is meaningfully true to the spirit of the Gita, of

course Gandhiji knew the Gita very much better than his carping critics, he was one of those few persons who well understood the message of the Gita and its eternal teachings. If the spirit of the Gita was fully indubitably understood, he believed and was convinced there would absolutely no care for violence in theory or practice. The Divine author, Sri Krishna is advising Arjuna his pupil to fight always without malice or any thought of self, offered his advice only, 'to undermine the strength of violence'. Thus one of the chief merits of the Gita is that it foretells the ideal of Satyagraha as a weapon forged against resistance.

On this fundamental teaching of the Gita, Gandhiji, himself says, The control teaching of the Gita is not himsa, or ahimsa—begun in the 2nd chapter and humanised in the 18th chap. The treatment tends to support the proposition that Ahimsa is possible without anger, hatred—and the Gita seeks to carry us to the status beyond satva, rajas—a status that excludes anger, hatred etc. To anyone who reads the Bhagawad Gita, he'll find, undoubtedly, that it teaches the great secret of non-violence, the great secret of realizing the self through 'the physical body'.

Gandhiji's vision of religion also passed that the faith code of ethics prescribed and best expressed by the Gita which gives the clarion call to man to perform his duties called Dharma without any desire for the fruits of action thereof. Dharma, Gandhiji, believed is a law which is at once universal and individual.

Today we often hear from housetops the cries for the righting of the individual. Many right thinks men have begun to get dissatisfied with this glif talk, and ask, 'what about duties to be performed?' Surely each man has his duty to do. Gandhi has been unique in developing the great concept of Dharma as a happy synthesis both of rights and duties. Of course this view bids fair to develop man's character

as well as to keep mankind. Gandhi says that 'satyagraha results in the long run in the least loss of life and what's more, it enables those who lost their lives, and morally enriches the world for their self-sacrifice.

Who can deny that Gandhiji's words ever purphetic'. In life as in moartyrdom Gandhiji was a true follower of the Bhagawat Gita.

Current Affairs

The New Age Seen in Yugoslavia Emilio Trampuz

Many people have a rather confused picture of Yugoslavia. 'Yugoslavia? Isn't that one of those Communist countries? Behind the Iron Curtain, as they say?' And, more often than not, they confuse it with Czechoslovakia with which it does not even share a border, separated as they are by Austria and Hungary. Czechoslovakia is part of the Eastern block: Yugoslavia is not. Czechoslovakia is in the middle of the European continent and has no coastline; Yugoslavia is famous for its warm Adriatic which is one of the calmest seas in the world.

It is true that Yugoslavia is a Socialist country, but it is non-aligned; it is not at all

influenced by the Russians. All of this mainly thanks to our President, Josif Tito. Funny thing: everybody has heard of President Tito but few know which country he is President of!

One could say that Yugoslavia is well balanced between the East and the West and open enough to receive something from both. Some people say that coming to Yugoslavia from one of the Eastern countries is like coming to America. And I am sure that many an American coming to Yugoslavia has felt as though he were coming to Russia.

As far as the New Age impulse is concerned, Yugoslavia is still, on the surface, very undeveloped in many respects. There are no health-food stores, no vegetarian restaurants, no

occult bookshops. But that does not mean that there are no vegetarians or no occultists. There are, and their number is increasing every day.

The Theosophical Society

The Theosophical Society has had a Branch in Yugoslavia since 1924 and the Yugoslav Section was officially founded in 1925. It worked very successfully until the Second World War and for two or three years after it. Then it was prohibited by the authorities and remained dormant for about nineteen years. In 1966 it resumed its work and has been growing ever since. The problem was, of course, that most of those who were active in the Society before the War were very much older in 1966 and at the beginning of its new surge of activity there were no new members.

But the Society could not pass unnoticed and nowadays more and more young people are joining. In 1975 a summer camp was organized for the first time after so many years and has been continued every summer since then. Our International President, John Coats, was our guest for a week in July 1977 during the third camp and summer school held in Gozd Martuljek, in the Alps not far from the Austrian border. (From The Theosophist)

Proposed Amendment to the Dowry Prohibition Act

According to a news item recently published by the daily Press with a New Delhi date-line, our Central Government is now considering an Amendment to the Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961. This Amendment proposes to make two important changes in the present Act which has very largely remained so far "A Dead Letter". The reported Amendments are:—(1) The giving and acceptance of Dowries will, in future become a "cognisable" offence which means that the police will become authorised to take action regarding the offence *Suomotu*, and even in the absence of a specific "complaint" before a Magistrate, (2)

The punishment for proved offenders can, in future, be rigorous imprisonment for a maximum period of two years instead of only six months as heretofore. Both who gives and who accepts dowry are punishable by law.

(In The Indian Messenger)

Olympic Fire Will Cross The Bulgarian Lands

The bearers of the Olympic fire will cross the territory of Bulgaria for the third time since the resumption of the Games. The Olympic fire was carried through it for the first time in 1936, after the start of the relay race in Greece, and was then handed over to the Yugoslav sportsmen. The fire was raced across the country once again on its way to Munich in 1972.

On the way of Moscow, the host city of the 22nd Olympic Games, the Greek sportsmen and women will again hand over the torch lighted from the Olympic fire, at the Kouлата frontier check-point on June 25, 1980 at 12.00 hrs. Bulgarian time. It will be carried further in the relay race to the Bridge of Friendship at Rousse, situated at the frontier with the Socialist Republic of Romania, by 950 Bulgarian sportsmen and women. The distance of 865 km will be covered in seven days.

The Olympic fire will stay over night at six inhabited localities in Bulgaria: Blagoevgrad, Sofia, Plovdiv, Shipka, Pleven and Rousse, and at each one of them it will be given a ceremonial welcome. Short celebrations will also be organized at 13 other inhabited localities on the way.

Some of the sportsmen and women who are to enjoy the privilege of holding in their own hands the Olympic fire torch and run with it their 1,000-metres part of the race, will be selected in the finals of the Fifth National Spartakiade Games. A total of 3,760,000 people took part in the first two stages of this biggest sports event in the country. The rest of the participants in the Olympic fire relay-race will be selected from among the best sportsmen

and women in the mass cross-country races, to be organised by the Bulgarian Council for Physical Education and Sports in the months preceding the Olympic Games.

By virtue of the agreement between the Bulgarian Olympic Committee and the Organizing Committee of the Moscow Olympics, made on October 4, 1978, a Central Organizing Committee has been set up in Bulgaria with a permanently functioning Operative Bureau. Organizing committees are also being set up in the districts the relay will go across.

The Bulgarian Television will broadcast live and retransmit for other televisions the ceremony of handing over the Olympic torch at the Greek-Bulgarian frontier, and will further daily report on the individuals legs of the itinerary.

The group accompanying the runners in the relay-race and also include 37 representatives of the Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games. Traffic wardens and operative staff of the state organ of Road Traffic Control will ensure the safe and unobstructed passage of the relay race along the roads in Bulgaria at the height of the tourist and farming season. The official supplier of outfits for the Olympic Fire relay race will be the Japanese Mizuko firm.

On July 1, 1980, at 11.00 hrs. the Olympic fire will cross into Romania. The Olympic fire, the link between the old shrine at Olympus and every new host city of the Olympic Games, and the relay race through which it is conveyed, is a symbol of the constant change and continuity from one generation to another, an expression of man's most cherished wish that humans should face each other and win slowly in an uncompromising, but honest and peaceful sporting competition.

"News From Bulgaria"

USSR To Observe Premchand's Birth Centenary

MOSCOW, (APN): A Commission to

widely celebrate the 100th birth anniversary of noted Indian writer Premchand has been set up in the USSR. It is headed by writer A. Ananyev, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee.

Premchand's name is well known in the Soviet Union, said A. Ananyev. His works come out in large editions here, and his legacy is keenly studied. Lectures on his work are delivered in the universities. The Commission which includes prominent men in science and culture, has worked out a large programme to mark the occasion. It includes scientific conferences and public meetings, the publication of new translations of Premchand's works, scientific works, radio broadcasts, etc.

Premchand resolutely upheld humanistic ideals in literature and in life and struggled for a literature serving the aims of public progress, said A. Ananyev, in an interview to "Literaturnaya Gazeta". The writer has made a considerable contribution to spreading the truth about the world's first socialist country, to strengthening Indo-Soviet friendship, and popularising Russian classical and Soviet literature, he said.

The celebration of Premchand's birth centenary in the Soviet Union, no doubt, will further promote friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of our countries, A. Ananyev stressed. (Reproduced from "Cultural Life")

More Books In Indian Languages From Progress Publishers Of Moscow

Calcutta, December: At a get-together yesterday at Soviet Book (Periodicals and Show Room, 75/C Park Street, Calcutta-16, Mr. V. Anisov, Head of the Indian Department of Progress Publishers of Moscow, presented before a distinguished gathering of authors, educationists, book-traders and cultural workers a comprehensive picture of what the Progress Publishers have achieved in the past and aspire to achieve in the future. He stated

that more good books in thirteen Indian languages including English have been published and are being planned to be published to acquaint the Indian readers with the life and culture of the Soviet Union. He particularly mentioned about the works of Soviet Indologists on history, geography, population and other aspects of India, which are in the publication list of Progress Publishers. Several have already been published, a notable of which is 'A History of India' in two volumes published this year, the year of the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Department of Progress Publishers. Next year, he said, the 50th anniversary of Progress Publishers would be celebrated with very many books on the publication agenda. He also explained the difficulties of bringing forth books in Indian languages—the difficulties in translating, in editing, and even in composing at the press—which naturally put some limitation on widening the range. Still, the Progress Publishers, he assured, would be all updating.

Greetings and good-wishes were expressed on behalf of those present for the 25th anniversary of the Indian Department of Progress Publishers this year and 50th anniversary of Progress Publishers next year. Several suggestions for new publications were made, which were noted by Mr. Anisov.

(Reproduced from Cultural Life)

Moscow Publishes Monograph On History Of Bengali Literature

Moscow (APN). The publishers of Moscow State University (MGU) issued a monograph by V. Payevskaya, lecturer at the MGU institute of Asian and African Studies, under the title "The Development of Bengali Literature in the 12th-19th Centuries".

In an extensive research study dedicated to the history of one of the richest Indian literatures from the moment of its origin till the end of the last century, the author develops

the concept of the unity of Bengali language, culture and literature. The works of greatest Bengali philologists such as Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Sukumar Sen and others are used in the book.

One of the most interesting parts of the monograph discusses the history of the studies of Bengali literature in Russian Indology beginning in the mid last century. The author cites the works of the academicians A. Barannikov, M. Tubyansky and V. Novikova.

The book shows the sources of Bengali literature. The author discovers them in the oral folk tradition and sees, as M. Gorky wrote, "the beginning of the art of the word in folklore."

Y. Payevskaya analyses the oral communication traditions of literary works. She considers folk songs, bhakti literature, the folk drama "jatra", two famous basic books of people's wisdom, "The Word of Dak" and "The Word of Khona", and legends to be important landmarks on the way of its development. The influence of Sanskrit literature is also shown here. The author calls this period a "pre-history of the oral tradition in the Bengali language". In her opinion the writings of the poets Jayadev, Vidyapati and others prepared the next "pre-national period" in the development of Bengali literature.

"The pre-national period" in Bengali literature, "writes Y. Payevskaya, "opens with the creation of a whole group of outstanding writers of the 15th century, such as Chandidash, Mukundaram, Govindodash and other original talents. In several chapters the author analyses Rama and Krishna poetry. According to Y. Payevskaya, the beginning of the unbroken literary tradition in the Bengali language, and the formation of literature as an independent branch of public consciousness emerged at the end of the 15th century.

The chapter "The Stabilisation Process of

National Bengali Literature" describes its national originality, which vividly manifested itself in Bengali romanticism.

The book asserts that "Bengali literature played the leading role in the history of Indian literatures of the 19th century."

The ideas of national consciousness and national liberation found their most complete expression in it. "In addition," the author emphasizes, "Bengali literature had to overcome the strong ideological influence of British colonialism and the policy of 'language colonialism'." The poet Madhushudan Dutt and the writer Bankimchandra Chatteropadhyaya became the real creators of national Bengali literature. This literature is a part of the whole of Indian literature and of world literature. The great Rabindranath Tagore brought it world wide recognition, the author concludes. (Reproduces from "Cultural Life," a Soviet publication)

The Development of the Israel National Opera

By—Dora Sowden

IF YOU want to ask an awkward cultural question in Israel, ask if there is opera. The answer isn't yes or no. It's both and neither. There was opera as early as the 1920's, when Mordechai Holinkin, who had been a conductor in Russia, came and started a company in Tel Aviv. It lasted four years. There was the "Palestine Folk Opera" in the 1930's for a time. Then in 1947, Edis de Philippe, a singer of considerable quality, arrived and started what she called the Israel National Opera. It is still running, even after she died in July 1978.

Yet nobody quite accepts what Edis de Philippe created, without qualifications. Nobody can quite explain how she managed to run the company so long and consistently, how the operas got their audiences, and the whole venture its support through the years. The fact is that the Israel National Opera has played almost nightly, year in year out, and come

regularly to other centers such as Jerusalem and Haifa. It has managed to maintain an orchestra, to get good singers and to stage production after production, mostly ignored by the critics, or if noticed, usually with some disapproval.

When someone lists with pride the many cultural amenities in Israel, the Israel National Opera is seldom included. Yet nearly a year after Edis de Philippe's death, the enterprise goes on. "She was a genius," declares public relations director Ben-Aroyo. "She left it all running like a Swiss watch." It may even last after the effect of Edis de Philippe's influence has waned and worn off. Cynics even say it may improve.

This strange phenomenon in Israeli musical life remains a puzzle. De Philippe often attracted excellent voices from outside Israel and good conductors.

Singers came from all over the world—possibly attracted by the name "Israel National Opera." Placido Domingo came from Mexico and went on to fame. John Mitchinson sang here and is now appearing in British opera and oratorio in key roles.

The trouble was that Edis de Philippe remained the one and only director. Her conception of staging was dated in detail and design. Her sets were mostly too heavy and probably therefore unnecessarily expensive. The costuming was unimaginative. In fact the style of production was provincial, unprogressive, plodding.

"Remember that she worked on a very limited budget," Ben-Aroyo says. "Sets had to be solid so that they could travel. They also had to be designed to fit the small stage of the opera house on Hayarkon Street in Tel Aviv. The way she coped with difficulties was unbelievable—and if people knew the difficulties, they would better understand what she achieved."

Certainly she seemed tireless—and surely persistent in doing things her own way.

Whatever the standard she reached, she kept it going. Only her attempts at keeping a ballet company going met with scant success. Here too she attracted fine dancers and choreographers—Cora Benador (Rumania), Robert Trinchero (Argentina), Anna Maria Hepp (Holland). They didn't stay. The ballet group became smaller in size and gradually lower in quality. The dancers either joined other companies or left the country.

Time and again there were reports that the Israel National Opera had accumulated large deficits—but still Edis de Philippe carried on and saw it all through, "against all odds and enemies," as Simha Eben-Zohar was once reported to say.

Her enterprise was not only in staging the well known operas and operettas. She staged "Alexandra," a truly worthwhile work by Israeli composer Avidom, for instance. Yet even here, the faults of direction were glaring, and only the good voices and the competent conducting produced the positive result.

Had de Philippe been more receptive to new ideas in stage direction and production, and allowed guest directors with a more modern approach to take a hand, perhaps the Israel National Opera would have become as significant as the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra or the Habima Theatre in Israeli life. She herself would have gotten more credit for the pioneering she did.

Now there is a situation about which it would be unprofitable to predict the future. Nevertheless, there seems to be a future. With Eben-Zohar as general director, and with Justice Zvi Berinson and Haim Levanon (former Tel Aviv mayor) heading the Council, the Israel National Opera continues to function.

"We are fulfilling the programme which Edis de Philippe planned," Ben-Aroyo said, "She was active until the last day. And we

have very interesting plans. We shall certainly carry on." Stage directors, he said, will be engaged as the occasion requires. There is a roster of three conductors—veteran George Singer, Alexander Tarski, Ariel Levanon. The chorus master is still Dr. Hillel Pinkus. The thirty-first season is now in progress.

At the moment, four productions are being staged in Tel Aviv and around the country: Verdi's "Nabucco" and "La Traviata," Mascagni's "Cavalleria Rusticana," Leoncavallo's "Pagliacci," and Lehar's operetta "Silva." There are many more operas in the repertoire, but there are also new plans. In the month of June it was Puccini's "Madame Butterfly." In July, Bizet's "Carmen" was directed by Rumanian guest Alexander Szimberger, with Metropolitan Opera singer Joann Grillo in the title role, and tenor Andrew Mendelssohn of New York as Don Jose.

"We have to import singers because there are no dramatic tenors or basses in Israel. There are some sopranos but the schools don't produce enough operatic singers," Ben-

Aroyo explained. Nevertheless, through the years, there have been some fine voices like soprano Netania Davrat and the baritone Mordechai Ben-Shahar who could sing anywhere with success.

Among the problems, one was that salaries had to be kept low—and this remains a problem. Orchestral musicians and even members of the chorus tend to drift away to something more lucrative. There are also encouragements. "Since we moved to a better hall in Haifa our audiences have doubled," Ben-Aroyo said, "and audiences are growing in other places, too."

So it may be that the answer to the question "Is there opera in Israel?" may in the future have a positive answer after all—arising more surely from the Israel National Opera than from any other venture.

Various efforts have from time to time been made, especially in Jerusalem, to start an opera company—some too ambitious, some not ambitious enough, none so far lasting.

Jacobo Kaufman who came from Buenos Aires with a fine record of productions, staged some promising performances and registered the "Jerusalem Opera and Center for Music Theatre," but nothing has recently been seen of this enterprise publicly.

The Rubin Academy of Music also in Jerusalem, has staged several operatic performances but, with all their merits, they have been more or less student performances.

A new Jerusalem Opera Society staged a lavish production of "Otello," with the promise it would be a beginning. Nothing has since been heard of possible future activities.

The orchestras—the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, and most recently the Beersheba Orchestra—have been given semi-staged or concert productions of operas, but these are of necessity few. Also, they are no substitute for the real thing, even though the Beersheba Orchestra's performance of Gluck's "Orpheus and Eurydice" was really elegant.

An attempt by the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra to present a full staging of Rossini's "Barber of Seville" was stymied by the orchestra members who declared they weren't hired to play opera in the pit.

A novel idea put forward was the possibility of exchange of productions between the Boston Opera (directed by Sara Caldwell) and Jerusalem-Tel Aviv-Caesarea. Nothing has yet come of that and one can only hope.

So as things stand in Israel, opera may come and opera may go, but the Israel National Opera is apparently determined to carry on regardless.

(From News From Israel)

New Book On Indian Literature Published In Moscow

Moscow (APN): For centuries "Mahabharata" lived as a verbal traditions and its written version appeared much later, says Ya. Vasilkov, a Soviet researcher in his article "Mahabharata's Pilgrimage" incorporated in the recently published book in Moscow on Indian literature.

The Soviet researcher who has been studying the genesis of the great Indian epics for many years came to the conclusion that before the 'Mahabharata' appeared in a written variant, the epic poem was being recited by memory.

The book entitled "Literatures of India" contains 28 articles. The book sheds light on an extremely wide range of research done by Soviet scholars in India's multi-lingual literatures.

Moscow Indologist A. Dubyansky who has done a lot of translation from Tamil into Russian deals in his article with the ancient Tamil lyric poetry.

Two articles are devoted to Bengali literature of the Middle Ages. The first translations of Bengali works of the Middle Ages was published a year ago in one of the volumes of the world literature series. The love theme in Chandidas's creative works is covered in Ye. Payevskaya's article and another scholar I. Toystykh analyses the stylistic features of Bengali poems of the Middle Ages.

N. Sazanova, who spent several years in India in collecting material on the life and work of Surdas and other outstanding Bhakti poets, presents in her article several specific aspects of Bhakti poetry of the 16th century in Brij. She says, "Thanks to the blossoming of Bhakti poetry in Brij, the 16th century became a brilliant period in the development of Indian culture. It had a considerable impact on its further progress."

Kabir's aphorisms are described by Lenin-grad Indologist N. Gafurova. A Dekhtyar's article on Shah Abdul Latif, a wellknown name in Sindhi literature, is also very interesting and quite a new subject of Soviet research. His monograph "Problems of Classical Poetry of Umu Dastan" will also be published soon.

Ye. Chelyshev, a renowned Soviet Indologist in his article entitled "Realism consolidates its positions" describes Indian literature in all its ideological and aesthetic variety, the relationship between different forces and some trends in its future development.

(Reproduced from "Cultural Life")

A NOTE ON INDIA'S REACTIONS TO THE AFGHANISTAN ISSUE

S. S. PATAGUNDI

The action of Russia in Afghanistan has become worldwide issue and has attracted international attention. In this article an attempt is made to analyse the reactions of major Indian political parties to the Afghanistan issue. Before going to analyse the attitudes of various political parties towards the Afghanistan issue, it may be useful to note some of the historical events in Afghanistan.

Mohammad Zahir Shah became the king of Afghanistan in 1933 at the age of 19 after the assassination of his father. Sardar Daud Khan was the prime minister during the period 1963-1963. Dr. Mohammad Yusuf was appointed prime minister by the king after the resignation of Sardar Daud Khan in March 1953. A new constitution, adopted in 1964, declared Afghanistan a constitutional mo-

narchy. The constitutional monarchy was overthrown by a military coup led by Lieutenant General Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan, cousin and brother-in-law of king Mohammad Zahir Shah, and martial law was declared. This military coup took place during the absence of king when he was in Italy for health reasons. Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan declared Afghanistan a republic and proclaimed himself president and prime minister of the republic; he assumed the foreign affairs and defence portfolios.

Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan was ousted by Noor Mohammad Taraki in April 1978 in a coup. The coup in September 1979 removed Mr. Taraki and the government was set up under the leadership of Hafizullah Amin. Soviet troops entered Afghanistan to support

Mr. Babrak Karmal who came to power by overthrowing Mr. Amin in a coup on 27 December 1979.

Now let us briefly see how the Indian political parties reacted to the situation in Afghanistan.

The caretaker government was critical about the presence of Soviet military in Afghanistan and it hoped that the USSR would withdraw its troops from Kabul. The chief general secretary of Lok Dal, Mr. Madhu Limaye, called for a national policy in the interest of the security of our country. He said, "India must try to secure the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan and reduction of the American presence in the Indian ocean to make the subcontinent an area of peace." (Times of India, 21 January 1980, p.1.) The Congress (I) president and prime minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, criticised the "Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a danger for India but accused the United States of being responsible for destabilisation of the region. (Times of India, 9 January 1980, p.9.) In meeting with the opposition leaders Mrs. Indira Gandhi denied that India's stand on Afghanistan was pro-Soviet; she said, "We are neither pro-Soviet nor pro-American, we are pro-Indian." (Times of India, 21 January 1980, p.1.)

The Congress (U) deplored the action of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and felt that the USSR should withdraw its forces from Kabul in the interest of maintaining peace in the region. The Congress (U) general secretary, Mr. Banka Bihari Das "appealed to the super powers, the USSR and the US, not to interfere either directly or indirectly to add to the tension in the region." (Times of India, 6 January 1980, p.9.)

The Janata party opposed the action of Russia in Afghanistan. According to it, the non-aligned countries can compel the Soviet Union to pull out its troops from Afghanistan.

From the viewpoint of the Janata the common interest of India and Pakistan lies in peace and stability of the subcontinent.

The approach, to this issue, of the Communist parties differed from that of the non-Communist parties. Mr. C. Rajeshwar Rao, general secretary of the CPI, "justified the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan as a step to counter the US—Pakistan interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs for the last several months." (Times of India 2 January 1980, p.1.) The CPI (M) criticised the caretaker government condemnation of the USSR, defended the action of Moscow in Afghanistan and considered that the US supply of arms to Pakistan posed a threat to India. According to an editorial of Times of India, "The CPM was said to be more independent in such matters, though it had been moving closer to the Soviet line in international affairs for some time." (Times of India, 4 January 1980, p.8.)

The CPI (M) has compared the Soviet invasion to India's liberation of East Bengal. These developments cannot be compared to those in Bangladesh in 1971. Because Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was a legitimised leader of Bangladesh and he got the support of his people by the election of December 1970. Mr. Karmal cannot be considered as a legitimised leader. He was in exile before 27 December 1979. He has not faced any elections so far. The Soviet Union cannot justify its action in Afghanistan on the ground that it had been taken in Kabul at the request of the government because this government was not (and is not) a legitimate one.

The Communist parties in India have not been able to adjust to the situation in Afghanistan. As we have seen, the CPM has already been in broad agreement with the Soviet's stand on Afghanistan but the whole hearted agreement may have to be worked out still further. (The CPI may be expected to take a favourable line on this issue.)

It is interesting to note how the Janata party's stand on the issue, specially that of Charan Singh's has been somewhat reoriented and toughened with the assumption of prime minister's office by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The Congress (I) party today has emerged as a single largest party after the January 1980 general elections in the country. The mandate has been almost massive with this mandate and with Mrs. Indira Gandhi's reputation for spirited foreign policy, a tough stand on Afghanistan situation can be expected and such a stand has indeed been adopted since the elections. The stand in general may be regarded as pro-Soviet and anti-American.

It is pro-Soviet and in sense it has to be a pro-Soviet because of the recent specially friendly Indo-Soviet relations and the 1971 friendship and security treaty between the two countries. The second factor which can aid the adoption of such a stand is the attitude and reactions of China to the Afghanistan issue. China has barely normalised her relations with India and in this conflict her attitude has been somewhat anti-Soviet and pro-American. Naturally therefore India has to

adopt an attitude which is different from China's or which may coincide with that of the Soviet Union. The American attitude to this situation further aids the adoption of the present attitude by the Indian government and Congress party. The American attitude amounts to a massive rearming of Pakistan with a view to coping with the situation in Afghanistan. But an inevitable consequence of this rearmament will be the disturbance of the military balance in the Indian subcontinent. And when this happens India has no option but to adopt a competitive attitude and the attitude which meets the challenge of the situation in Pakistan which itself may be said to be a in response to the crisis in Afghanistan.

As things stand today, it appears that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan will be maintained for some years to come even when the Soviet forces are withdrawn. This will mean logically the maintenance of the assured American presence in Pakistan with its patent danger to India. The present Indian attitude therefore likely to continue and even stiffen in order to see the country's foreign policy remaining viable, in the face of the Us-China-Pakistan axis.



INDIAN YOUTH : ARE THEY REALLY REBELIOUS ?

I. SATYA SUNDARAM

Youth in India, and all over the world, are at the crossroads. One cannot but poignantly note the deteriorating standards of discipline among them. The world of youth has become a world of indifference. They have learnt to organise themselves into groups and to indulge in acts of violence, vandalism and hooliganism. There is mounting turmoil among the youth. However, it should be remembered that all the youth are not rebellious. The youth in general blindly follow the militant section of their tribe. This is so because the youth by nature are emotional, though they do not lack idealism. Before searching for palliative measures for the youth unrest, we must now examine the causes for their frustration and despondency.

We cannot study and understand, the youth problems, unless we make a thorough analysis of the society in which they live. It is unreasonable to blame the youth when the adults are hardly perfect and upright. The environment in which the youth live is hardly conducive for their development. The adults hardly make an attempt to train the youngsters on the right lines. When the youth daily see the corrupt practices of their elders, they are hardly inspired by any idealism. They lack direction and proper guidance. Prior to independence, there were charismatic leaders like Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru and Subhas Bose, who inspired the youth to wage a ceaseless war against an alien rule. Those were the days when the youth were inspired by some idealism. Ever since we attained our independence, much water had flown under the bridge of Indian democracy. Political leaders of

today are more interested in their posts than in the country's welfare. There is hardly any sort of intellectual leadership to the youth. Therefore they are wandering in the streets capriciously. Fissiparous farces are raising their ugly heads. Squabbles in the name of language, religion caste etc ate on the increase. The problem with regard to youth is mainly one of creating some confidence in them. When the youth lack confidence in themselves they become alienated. Youth may fail to discharge their duties properly, so long as the present environment is ominous. Now a days, the youth are not guided either by the parents or by the teachers. There is parental irresponsibility towards the youth. The elders live in their own world. The youth are left completely free. But, they cannot profitably utilise their freedom because the society itself is corrupt and ominous. We find the highly obnoxious influence of the present society on our youth. Why should we blame the youth, when something is wrong with the society in general and the elders in particular ?

The present turmoil among the youth is often attributed to what is called the generation gap. It is said that there is a conflict between the ideas of the old and those of the young. It is observed that the youngsters are radical and the old are traditional in their outlook. The old are described as conservatives. This means that the youngsters are trying to change the present social order, while the old still stick to the traditional social setup. The student unrest is said to be the product of creative dissent. However, it is wrong to say

that the youth are very particular of changing the present social order. The youth may dislike the traditional social institutions, but they too are not in a position to show the substitutes. They are totally ignorant of the type of society they want to set up. We find the conservative people both among the young and the old. The conception of generation gap is an imitative and irrelevant one. As rightly observed by Krishna Prakash Gupta, "This conceptualization was not only inappropriate but also self defeating. It failed to adequately relate the Indian youth movement with the totality of the Indian society. It made what had been an integral component of collectivist processes of change into a partial fulfilment of young passions. For, unlike the American youth, Indian youth were neither merely engaged in a spasmodic expression of their youthfulness, nor were attempting to reject the society's dominant values. In fact, from the very beginning Indian youth have remained alive to intra-cultural adult ideals and have inevitably interacted with an influenced India's national politics. (The Radical Humanist, August 1974, page 14). Thus, we can completely ignore the imported concepts of youth autonomy and conflict of generations. The Indian youth are still wedded to their own culture.

One cannot but notice the obnoxious influence of politics on the student community. Our political parties do not hesitate to fish in troubled waters. No doubt, the students are having every right to understand politics, but their active involvement in it mars their academic life. Almost all the political parties in India are having student wings. Therefore, they often use the students to achieve their own ends. But, it is wrong to say that all students are committed to one political party or the other. While some students take an active participation in politics, others com-

pletely ignore it. In a study taken up by Krishna Prakash Gupta, it was revealed that the political orientations of students were quite varied. "31.4% admitted frank commitment to specific political ideologies (12.8% to leftist, 15.7% to Rightist and 2.8% to centrist); an equal percentage expressed definite sympathies (15.7% to leftist, 7.1% to Rightist and 8.6% to centrist); 37.1% were ambivalent." (The Radical Humanist, August 1974, page 15). The same study has also revealed that more than half of all adults and youth believe that parliamentary democracy is reasonably suitable to Indian conditions. On the issue of students' participation in politics, the study revealed that "60% adults and even a larger percentage of employed youth (65.7%) have proposed to put serious restrictions on students, while nearly three-fourths of activists and a similar portion of non-employed youth have preferred full participation. Evidently youth does not speak with one mind or one voice. Those who are still youthful on the criterion of age, but have gone beyond the youthful occupations of studying and job-hunting already seem to have become adults in their attitudes. Radicalism prospers only among those who can afford the luxury of being activists, or suffering from unemployment. Adults are by and large passive and apathetic. Most of the youth and adults are not satisfied with the democratic method of discussion and persuasion. There is a growing feeling that only violent methods will achieve the ends under the present circumstances. Only about 10% have expressed willingness to participate actively in peaceful agitations, like the one launched by Jayaprakash Narayana—half are content with expressing sympathy, and one fourth are still uncertain. As things stand, the present political system will survive for a long time.

Though most of the youth do not like certain traditional economic and social institutions, they still are not sure, about the type of

society they really want to set up. That is why Krishna Prakash Gupta observes, "the radical youth still do not appear to be sufficiently angry to reject the system. Rather, they are secretly hoping to build their careers through it. In this sense, they are still 'integrated' with (in contrast to being 'alienated' from) the society which they impatiently want to change", (The Radical Humanist. Page 17).

Perhaps the primary responsibility to train the youth rests on our educational system but, our educational system has not been geared to meet this challenge. The chief defect in our educational system is that it does not make the students work hard through out the year. If our educational system created only leisure for our students who do not know how to make the best use of it, the students naturally indulge in obnoxious activities. The students as well as the teachers have lost faith in the educational system. There is no rapport between the teacher and the taught. Admissions are made without reference to the students' attitude towards education. No wonder, students are attacking even the invigilators. The teachers have hardly any personal contact with the students, because each class consists of 80 to 100 students. What the modern teacher faces today is not a class, but a crowd ! The expansion of education should be properly regulated.

The rapid expansion of education has created some sort of frustration among a section of the student community. There has been a rapid quantitative growth of urban oriented education in the past two decades. What happened was that the economically under privileged rural youths have been placed in an urban environment. Because of the difference in social values, the rural youth find it difficult to adjust to the urban environment. The new urban industrial society has also not been conducive for resolving the cultural

conflict between the rural and urban students. The report of the education commissioner (1965) has observed that the educational system has widened "the social distance between the rich and the poor.....education itself is tending to increase social segregation and wider class distinctions.....what is worse, this segregation is tending to enlarge the gulf between the classes and masses.....". In view of the high cost of education P.C. Mahalanobis had rightly observed that "it is the rich people who have the opportunity of giving their children the type of education required for posts of influence and responsibility." The students who came from the affluent families do not take proper interest in their studies, still they are sure of their jobs ! On the other hand, the rural youth who join educational institutions in cities are greatly worried about jobs, though they are hardworking. Thus, we find two classes 'the haves' and 'have nots' even in the educational field. The class conflict here is not open, but hidden.

A national service programme should form a part of the educational system. The youth against famine programme is no doubt a laudable one. But, its utility as an instrument of emotional integration has been greatly reduced because the programme did not attract the children of highly educated and highly placed parents. Moreover, there is educational disparity and age differences among those who participate in such programmes. Especially during summer vacations, the students should be asked to serve the rural areas where modern amenities are extremely poor. In the allocation of lucrative jobs in cities and towns, priority should be given to candidates who served the rural areas. Age limits for entry into Government service or the competitive examinations need to be relaxed in the case of those who voluntarily take up rural service, after leaving their schools or colleges. The students then get a feeling that they are an integral part of society. This would divert

students' attentions from violent and destructive activities.

By far the greatest contributing factor for student unrest is economic insecurity. The youth in India, about 98 million in number are greatly worried about their future. There is growing feeling of frustration and alienation among the youth because their future is uncertain, though they live in a period of rising expectation. The youth are no doubt witnessing the conspicuous education of the top classes in India, but they are not able to get even ordinary jobs. Their rising expectations have then suddenly fallen to the ground. The innumerable graduates and post-graduates produced by our colleges and Universities every year do not know what to do with their Degrees. Their slogans are: "We don't want Degrees, give us bread", and "Give us jobs and not speeches." Job seekers increase at the rate of 14 per cent, while new jobs created increase at the rate of 2.5 per cent only. Everyday we are adding 5000 jobless to the vast army of the unemployed. The total number

of jobless in India is around 170 lakhs. We have failed to maintain a proper balance between the output of the educational institutions and employment opportunities. If the youth are fruitfully employed in suitable jobs, there is little scope for frustration or unrest among them.

It follows from the above discussion, that the youth are not generally rebellious—only a section of them is militant. Basically, we do not find anything wrong with our youth. But, if something is wrong with them, it is because of two reasons. Firstly, the agencies that are expected to train the youth have ceased to function or functioning ineffectively. Secondly, the Government and the public have failed to create proper opportunities for the youth to engage themselves in productive and profitable activities. The real remedy for youth unrest in India lies in providing proper facilities for their full development. Moreover, it should be remembered that youth are only a part of the society; and if the entire society is imperfect and corrupt, we cannot expect anything good or great from the youth.



THE DOLLAR AND THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM

ARTHUR F. BURNS

Abridged version of Arthur F. Burns' article provided in the Forum of Free Enterprise.

The sharp depreciation of the dollar in foreign exchange markets since September 1977 has been the subject of considerable concern in the United States and across the world. There are ample reasons for this concern.

When the value of the dollar declines in terms of foreign currencies, the Americans who work, visit, or buy abroad are at once affected adversely. And as the rise in the price of imports spreads to domestic commodities and makes itself felt in retail outlets, the entire public feels the effects of a depreciating dollar. The depreciation of the dollar in foreign exchange markets has thus intensified the economic troubles wrought by inflation—a disease from which the United States, along with much of the rest of the world, has long been suffering.

In view of the vital role that the dollar has come to play in international trade and finance, its value is highly important also to the rest of the world. To begin with, the dollar is the currency in which a major part of international commerce is carried out. Contracts for international trade in primary commodities—of which oil is an outstanding example—are preponderantly denominated in dollars. Contracts for manufactured commodities moving across national boundary lines are also frequently expressed in dollars. That is no less true of Israel than of Japan, Europe, and the rest of the world.

The dollar is not only the major currency in which international trading is invoiced. The dollar is also the principal currency used in

international capital markets. It is the currency on which central banks primarily rely when they intervene in foreign exchange markets. Perhaps most important of all, the dollar is a store of value for practically every central bank, for multinational corporations generally, and for people of wealth and means around the world as well as the American public.

In view of the vital role of the dollar in international trade and finance, it is natural for the business world to expect the dollar to be a stable international currency—that is, a currency whose average value against other major currencies will fluctuate within only narrow limits from day to day, from week to week, and perhaps even from year to year. When the dollar fails to behave in this fashion, when doubts arise about its stability, a troublesome dimension of uncertainty is added to international trade and investment.

I therefore have no hesitation in saying that at this juncture of history the international monetary system requires a reasonably stable dollar in foreign exchange markets taken as a whole. As the leading international currency, the dollar needs to be respected around the world. Once its integrity is in doubt, hesitation tends to spread among businessmen and financiers wherever dollars or dollar-denominated assets are held.

In an effort to throw some light on the circumstances surrounding the international position of the dollar, I shall discuss with you briefly the following questions: First, how has the dollar actually performed in foreign exchange markets? Second, why has the dollar depreciated so much recently? Third,

what are the prospects for some improvement in the dollar's international value? Fourth, how can a more stable international monetary system be achieved in the years immediately ahead?

Let us then turn to the first question: How has the dollar actually performed in foreign exchange markets? The answer depends, of course, on the time period considered. For many decades the international monetary system was tied to gold, and the value of the dollar was entirely stable against most major currencies. But since 1971, when convertibility of dollars into gold was abandoned, and even more since the worldwide shift to floating exchange rates in 1973, the external value of the dollar has undergone large variations—particularly in relation to other major currencies.

Thus, between early April and early July of 1973, the average value of the dollar relative to the currencies of the ten major industrial countries fell 11 per cent. It then rose 21 per cent until mid-January 1974, fell 11 per cent between that date and mid-May, rose 7 per cent by early September, fell again 10 per cent until early March of 1975, and rose once again until early June of 1976 by 16 per cent. The decline that began at that time reached over 20 per cent toward the end of last month.

These are large fluctuations by almost any yardstick. And the fluctuations of the dollar, of course, have been larger still in relation to individual currencies—especially the German mark, the Swiss franc, and the Japanese yen. From the beginning of 1971 until late October 1978, the value of the dollar declined about one fourth in terms of the mark and about two-fifths in terms of the yen and also the Swiss franc.

This brings me to the second question: Why has the dollar depreciated so much over the past two years—especially since the early

fall of 1977? There can be no simple or single answer to this question. In addition to the American public, there are many millions of people abroad who hold dollars or dollar-denominated assets, and the total amount of these outstanding assets staggers the imagination. Those who seek to hold, acquire, or part with dollars have countless business, financial, or personal reasons for so doing. Nevertheless, several facts of major significance do stand out.

First, the dollar plummeted in international markets despite massive intervention by the major central banks. In the aggregate, central banks purchased over \$40 billion since the beginning of 1977. This enormous support of the dollar was helpful in correcting the disorderly conditions that kept recurring in foreign exchange markets, but it had little or no permanent effect on the underlying trend of the dollar.

Second, short-term market interest rates turned upward in the United States early in 1977, while they moved down in European money markets and in Japan. By mid-1977, interest rates were lower in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands than in the United States. This reversal of interest-rate differentials has become larger since then, and it has spread to other money markets including that of Japan. But the higher short-term rates failed to attract much foreign capital to the United States. On the contrary, private capital moved out on balance in substantial amounts during 1977 and in the early months of this year.

Third, since massive central-bank support and appreciably higher short-term interest rates failed to stem the depreciation of the dollar, powerful influences were obviously dragging down its value. The deterioration in America's foreign trade, the quickening of its inflation rate, and the failure of American policy makers to take effective measures to deal with both difficulties—these were the factors that attrac-

ted wide attention and counted most in the dollar's decline.

The decline of the foreign trade balance of the United States, especially in manufactured goods, reached dimensions that exceeded even pessimistic expectations. A surplus of \$ 9 billion on the overall trade account in 1975 was followed by a deficit of \$ 9 billion in 1976 and a deficit of \$ 31 billion in 1977. The deterioration was not confined to the merchandise trade with any one country or region. On the contrary, it occurred on a worldwide scale. For example, the trade deficit with the OPEC group came to \$ 16 billion in 1976, but reached \$ 23 billion in 1977. In the case of Japan, the deficit moved from \$ 5 billion to \$ 8 billion. In the case of Western Europe, the traditional trade surplus shrank from \$ 9 billion to \$ 6 billion. Moreover, the trade deficit this year has been running on an overall basis even higher than last year's unprecedented total, and it has become embarrassingly large for manufactured products.

As knowledge of this widening trade deficit spread around the world, confidence in the external value of the dollar naturally diminished. Experienced market participants reasoned that the dollar would have to depreciate before equilibrium in America's foreign trade could be restored. Expectations of this sort led to some outflow of capital. Meanwhile, unfavourable expectations were nourished for a time by pronouncements out of Washington, at times even by high officials, that depreciation of the dollar was a good thing—that it would serve to augment American exports, to diminish imports, and thus strengthen the ongoing domestic expansion in production and employment. Such rhetoric tended to propel further the outflow of capital, and the depreciation that followed served to confirm pessimistic market expectations. Yet, these expectations would not have escalated as they in fact did if

inflation in the United States had not taken a serious turn for the worse.

In 1974, when the hectic boom of the American economy culminated, the consumer price level rose 12 per cent. During the next two years considerable slack existed in the economy, and the inflation rate receded sharply—to 7 per cent in 1975 and to less than 5 per cent in 1976. But as the economy surged forward again, the inflation rate moved up to almost 7 per cent during 1977, and it rose still further—to an annual rate of over 9 per cent—through September of this year. When a country's currency buys less and less of domestic goods or services, as was now the case with the dollar, participants in the foreign exchange market are apt to reason that its value in terms of other currencies must also decline—unless, of course, the trend of inflation is generally similar elsewhere. That, however, was not the prevailing situation.

On the contrary, while the inflation rate was quickening in the United States, it was diminishing in most other industrial countries. By the second quarter of this year, the rate of increase in the consumer price level of the United States exceeded that of Germany, Japan, Switzerland, Australia, the Low Countries, Austria, and the Scandinavian group. Even the inflation rate of Great Britain, which once served as a conspicuous example to the world of what needed avoiding, had come down to the American level and, according to some measures was below it.

Since December of last year, when President Carter declared unequivocally that the United States has a "responsibility to protect the integrity of the dollar," the government has taken various steps with a view to strengthening the dollar's international position. Swap arrangements with foreign central banks have been pursued more vigorously in the interest

correcting disorderly conditions in foreign exchange markets. The discount rate has been raised repeatedly and it now stands at the highest level in Federal Reserve history. Monthly sales of gold have been undertaken by the Treasury. Technical regulations by the Federal Reserve System have been modified to facilitate borrowing abroad. An energy bill designed to promote oil conservation has been passed by the Congress. The administration has developed a programme for enlarging direct assistance to American exports and for reducing domestic barriers to exports. Moreover, having reached the conclusion that inflation is now the nation's principal economic problem, the President has announced a new policy of seeking to moderate wage and price increases.

I have left for last the most difficult question—namely, what needs to be done to achieve a more stable international monetary system in the years immediately ahead. I believe, as I have already indicated, that at this stage of world economic evolution the United States has the primary responsibility to promote a stable international monetary system. It must nevertheless be kept in mind that the instability of individual currencies around the world—whether it be the dollar, the yen, or any other—cannot be solely attributed to shortcomings of American performance.

The turbulence that has characterized exchange markets since 1973 reflects a very disturbed international environment. During these years, individual countries experienced high and widely divergent rates of inflation, the price of oil quintupled, a severe recession in economic activity occurred on a worldwide scale and, more recently, economic recovery has proceeded at widely different rates in individual countries. In view of the massive disturbances that rocked the international economy in the past few years, it is hardly surprising that enormous trade imbalances

developed and that foreign exchange markets became highly unstable. If the Bretton Woods system had not collapsed in 1973, it probably would have collapsed only a little later. If the United States is not free from blame, neither are other countries around the world.

In the interest of international monetary order, as well as for its own sake, the United States will need to strive harder than it yet has to achieve a stable domestic price level and to reduce its reliance on foreign oil. However, in the absence of a rigid exchange rate system—something that did not exist even under the Bretton Woods regime—the dollar will fluctuate against other currencies because of developments that are outside American control. The most that can be expected of the United States is that its affairs be conducted in such manner that the average value of the dollar against other currencies will fluctuate within only narrow limits. But even if that happened, the value of the dollar against individual currencies—the mark, the French franc, the yen, etc.—could still move over a wide range in response, among other factors, to differences in national inflation rates. Clearly, a more stable international system requires appropriate financial conduct by many countries. It can be promoted by the United States; it cannot be achieved by the United States alone.

I began this address by emphasizing the responsibility that the United States has to maintain a reasonably stable dollar. Let me close by stating that the United States in particular must give strong support to the IMF—as it in fact has done in recent years. Under no circumstances should the United States, any more than Italy or Mexico or Israel, expect to receive preferential treatment from the IMF. Neither the United States, nor any other country need fear the counsel of the IMF or the conditions that it may at some time in the future lay down before it will extend

financial assistance. Countries that conduct their financial affairs prudently will rarely, if ever, become subject to guidance or pressure from the IMF. But when a country mismanages its finances or runs into bad luck, it should be comforting to know that the IMF is likely to prove a constructive aid, in the restoration of its economic health.

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LEATHER EXPORT :

Dr. B. R. S. GUPT

Leather and leather manufacturers have acquired—a predominant position in India's export trade. The items exported include : E.I. tanned leather, footwear and leather goods. The industry's export earnings at present account for 7% of India's total exports. However, exports of finished leather and leather goods constitute only 10% of the industry's total exports.

The world trends are conducive to the governments policy owing to the high cost of the labour and other factors. The developed countries can profitably import larger quantities of finished leather and semi-tanned leather from India where labour is comparatively inexpensive and manufacturing techniques have been modernised. It is a matter of great

pleasure that India has been elected unanimously member of the International Tanners' Council. India is the first Asian country to be admitted to the council. Membership of the council would enable the Indian leather industry to be fully exposed to world trends and development both in the technological and commercial areas and help it to up-date its production and marketing technique. Export markets were very firm and the prices in India were also very firm, although there was a lot of resistance to shoe manufactures all over the world. Total exports of leather and leather items from India in 1978-79 amounted to about Rs 330.4 crores against about 257.9 crores, the previous year. We will be lucky if we maintain the level of exports between Rs

300 and 350 crores in 1979-80. The general buoyancy witnessed on the leather export front this year marks a welcome trend. But a closer look at export figures for different categories during April-August 1979 as compared with the corresponding period of 1978 underscores the inherent weakness in the industry which is labour intensive and which offers vast scope for higher unit value realisation. Overall exports of tanned hides and skins, leather and leather goods have gone up by about 40% from Rs. 133.50 crores to Rs. 186.54 crores. Exports of all types of tanned hides and skins increased by about 46% from Rs. 33.92% crores to Rs. 49.51 crores. Exports of finished leather increased by 67% from Rs. 71.89 crores to Rs. 120.05 crores. However, during this period exports of leather goods increased by only 9.5% from Rs. 11.50 crores to Rs. 12.59 crores, their share of the total having fallen from 8.6% to 6.8%. The substantial increase in the exports of both finished leather and tanned hides and skins reflect the keen demand for these products in the developed countries which have become sensitive to the pollution hazards in this industry and are, therefore, phasing it out in favour of the less developed countries. It is clear, however, that the market for leather products has not shown a comparable growth in those countries since the manufacture of the leather goods from leather does not raise questions of pollution and there is a tendency in the developed countries to protect the domestic industries concerned.

In the short run, the Indian industry should certainly take advantage of the growing demand for the hides and skins and the finished leather, as it has undoubtedly done. This may enable the industry to sustain or even better the 35% export growth rate recorded in 1978-79 and boost exports beyond the Rs. 400 mark in the current year. In fact, buoyancy in international demand for this range of leather may

even make it feasible to achieve the Sixth Plan leather and leather goods export target of Rs. 600 crores by 1983. However, the planners wanted the exports of footwear to make a major contribution. Available indications in this regard are discouraging, to say the least. Exports of leather footwear during April-Aug. this year at Rs. 6.87 crores were just one percent more than in the corresponding period of last year. Needless to add, footwear components, mainly shoe uppers, have registered a 30% growth, their exports during April-August 1979 came to just Rs. 4.88 crores. As regards other leather goods, their exports at Rs. 4.68 crores were 24% lower than in April-August 1978. It would seem that the soft option stemming from the rising international demand for tanned hides and skins and finished leather is leading to the neglect of the required effort in the production and export of the leather goods including shoes.

It has been revealed by an UNCTAD study that India may be in a position to produce five billion square feet of leather worth about Rs. 5,000 crores in the next twenty years. This presupposes the establishment of a leather chemicals industry with an investment of Rs. 1,000 crores. The Task Force on leather and leather goods industry appointed by the Commerce Ministry has pinpointed low capacity utilisation and the non-availability of sophisticated component and chemicals at economic prices are the twin problems afflicting the industry. Improvement in the quality of raw materials and increasing the availability of hides and skins will go a long way in stabilising production. A ban on the export of live animals to West Asian countries, setting up of new meat factories and expansion and modernisation of old ones are some of the urgent steps to be taken to ensure uninterrupted supply of hides and skins to the industry. The import of modern machinery and requisite chemicals at reduced rates of import duty, as

recommended by the Task Force, may also be necessary if the industry is to register vertical growth. Perhaps collaboration agreements with western manufacturers for the manufacture of shoe uppers, glove components, footwear components, etc. with built-in export marketing clauses are likely to prove profitable. In fact, poor marketing has been the bane of Indian leather industry. The Industry has, therefore, been able to take advantage of general buoyancy in the world market for fashionable and sophisticated leather goods, particularly leather garments. It is to this that the leather industry's attention will now have to be returned.

Some Important Suggestions :

1—Needless to add, considerable amount of research is being carried out on tanned leather, nothing is being done to maintain the quality of the raw hide and this is more important. Calcutta, with its concentration of 400 old tanneries, employing 20000 people, can well become a major exporting centre for footwear if only some technical expertise is imparted to the craftsmen and the quality of the raw hides is maintained. A statewide organisation be formed for the purpose. Proper manning of the centres is needed and that outdated implements, still being used, should be replaced. The state government should issue instructions to various municipalities to hand over carcasses to these units. At present, the kendra is able to procure only about one percent of the total carcasses in the state. Village panchayats could help in the procurement.

There is a great need to restructure the schemes of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission so that it could allot more money for such centres.

There is also a need that the KVIC should directly set up such centres in the states where the Khadi Boards were not setting them up.

Unlike in many other countries where raw hides and skins are bye-products of meat industry, in India hides and skins are obtained from fallen animals, mainly due to the widespread prejudice against the slaughter of animals, with the result the quality of raw hides and skins from fallen animals is not comparable with that available as bye-products of meat industry. Further, consequent on unscientific methods of slaughtering animals, the hides and skins suffer from fly cuts, Warble marks, bacterial damages, etc. The rate of recovery of skins and hides is also low in India and is estimated at about 12% as against 37% in U.S.A. Poor quality and low availability have, therefore, adversely affected the supplies of leather in the country. Since the quality and availability of hides and skins can only be improved by modernising treating methods such as flaying, curing, storing and transportation, the existing slaughter houses need to be modernised.

Shortage of vegetable tanning material is yet another problem faced by the industry. There is no organised effort to procure the indigenously available tanning material such as Wattlebark. If indigenous resources are properly developed and exploited, India not only need not import any vegetable tanning material but may even be able to export some. Besides, vegetable tanning material, there is a shortage of other raw materials such as basic chrome crystals, chemicals and finishing auxiliaries, dyes and fat liquors and casein. Indigenous dyes are not suitable for processing high quality leather, because there are neither shower-proof nor perspiration proof. In order to compete with the high quality products of the advanced countries and also to increase productivity, it is necessary to mechanise fully the tanning industry.

Besides, there is a dire need for market research, quick delivery and quality control for achieving a breakthrough in exports to

world markets. 'Maintaining high quality is the only way to meet the competition. The leather used for manufacturing leather goods should, therefore, be highly processed. The supply of the right type of leather to the manufacturers should be ensured either by importing leather to the manufactures or by importing the necessary machinery and spare parts for processing leather, close watch should be kept on the frequent changes in the design patterns. If measures like market research, publicity, study-cum-sales tours, organising and taking part in trade fairs and exhibitions are taken, there is no doubt that India will be able to achieve the leather export target envisaged in the current Plan.

The mushroom growth of organisations needs to be checked and the multiplicity of functions currently performed by them needs to be co-ordinated and integrated by bringing all the existing organisations under one umbrella, namely, the National Leather Board. This Board is conceived as a statutory Board similar in character to the existing Commodity Boards, responsible for improving and strengthening the production base of the leather industry. The Board would have four wings each charged with specific responsibility for one major area of activity. The following areas of activities are envisaged :—

- 1—Resource Development and mobilisation
- 2—Product Development ;
- 3—Export promotion ;
- 4—Economics and Statistics.

The Board shall have an Official Chairman preferably a technologist and a panel of members representing industry, trade, legislature, economists, management and marketing experts, government of those states in which the industry is concentrated, consumers and labour.

As for functioning ; the government of India should institute a Leather Development

Fund. The National Leather Board besides undertaking the allotted centralised functions, should co-ordinate and guide the activities of the state boards.

The Corporation should be similar in character and functions, to the bye-products corporation of the U. S. A... It should be kept outside the jurisdiction of the National Leather Board mainly by reason of the fact that the problem of utilisation of bye-products is more closely linked up with the problem of setting up of slaughter houses rather than with the development of leather and leather goods industry. This corporation will also be responsible for the improvement and modernisation of existing slaughter houses. In the sphere of research and development, the corporation's responsibility will be to identify the problems of utilisation of bye-products and make arrangements to solve them.

The Herd Management Corporation would be primarily concerned with evolving and implementing programme for improvement of lives took. Such programmes can not be entrusted to the National Leather Board which has already been burdened with many other onerous tasks.

There is an urgent need for organising a federation of these associations so that the diverse interests represented in it are given due consideration before forging a unified viewpoint of the industry for making representations to the government. Such a federation may be given due representation on the proposed National Leather Board.

There is a great scope for dressing of E.I. leathers, for setting up of tanneries in the various developing countries, and for processing somalian skins into vegetable tanned leather in India for re-export, in collaboration with the foreign agencies. Foreign collaboration may be sought particularly for marketing finished leathers in these developed countries.

DISPENSE WITH QUESTION HOUR—SPEAKER'S ROLE IN WEST BENGAL

Dr. RANJIT BASU

In the modern Parliamentary Democracy asking of question to Ministers plays a very important part. A British Parliament Procedural Committee described the Question Hour as "perhaps the readiest and the most effective method of Parliamentary control over the actions of the Executive." The observation is also true about the Questions Hour of West Bengal Legislative Assembly. Asking of questions to Ministers is the inherent right of the Members and the Ministers also feel it their duty to supply information. "...the residuary impression left on a visitor" of Question Hour, "invariably is that he has been at close quarters" where "Parliamentary Democracy in action."

The first hour of every sitting of the West Bengal Assembly is allotted for the asking

and answering questions. But this arrangement is subject to changes under the Speaker's directions.¹ There are occasions when under the Speaker's direction, no oral questions are placed before the House on certain days. It may be mentioned that the Conference of Presidents and Speakers of Legislative Chambers in British India agreed generally as far back as in January, 1928 that the President has no power except with the unanimous consent of the House to pass over questions and proceed to other business.

Here two charts will show how many days House has gone without questions at the particular period. But on some of these days question was not placed on agreement. (Chart Nos. 1 and 2).

Chart No. 1

During 1952-1957 there were 346 days of actual sittings of the Assembly and out of which no questions were taken up on 99 days, that is 28.7 percent of sitting days went without a Question Hour. The following table will speak :

Session	No. of sittings	No. of days on which no questions were taken up
1. June-August, 1952	40	14
2. February-May, 1953	52	11
3. November, 1953	15	2
4. February-April, 1954	38	4
5. August-September, 1954	21	4
6. February-April, 1955	46	15
7. August-October, 1955	46	12
8. December, 1955	10	3
9. February-March, 1956	39	17
10. July-September, 1956	30	12
11. January-March, 1957	9	5
	346	99

Chart No. 2

During 1957-1960 there were 265 days of actual sittings of the Assembly and out of which no questions were taken up on 147 days, that is 55.5 percent of actual sitting of Assembly went without Question Hour.

Session	No. of actual sittings	No. of days on which questions were not taken up	No. of days on which questions were taken up for $\frac{1}{2}$ hours
1. June-July, 1957	32	25	X
2. November-Dec., 1957	18	2	9
3. February-March, 1958	43	18	X
4. June July, 1958	45	29	X
5. December-January, 1958-1959	22	9	X
6. February-March, 1959	38	19	11
7. September-Oct., 1959	10	6	X
8. November-Dec., 1959	16	8	X
9. February-April, 1960	41	31	X

But on one occasion objection being raised regarding dispense with Question Hour, Chair observed that it should be made in consultation with different parties and groups. It is done so to give more time to other business. In consultation with different Parties, Chair decided not to place questions for certain days and even in a whole of session.² But it was done on agreement. On one such occasion Mr. Speaker observed: "Let it be clearly understood that unless there is an agreement the questions must follow as a matter of course except on non-official days. It is purely a matter of agreement."³

Mr. Speaker also on another occasion declared: "I always take the precaution of consulting members of the Opposition in particular as to what the next programme is going to be. Mr. Ganesh Ghosh (Opposition Chief Whip) insisted on questions being taken up today and almost against our wishes we had to fix this programme."⁴

Now-a-days, Business Advisory Committee

decides in this matter and after adoption of the report by the House, it becomes the order of the House.

It would be worthwhile to look into the practices followed by different Presiding Officers of Legislative Bodies in India.

The House agreeing unanimously, the Question Hour is dispensed with in Lok Sabha. In Tamilnadu Legislative Assembly only on a Motion under Rule 22 of the Assembly Rules the House should unanimously resolve to that effect. Himachal Pradesh follows the Lok Sabha practice and Presiding Officer there does not suo-motu declare that there will not be any Question Hour on a particular day. In Kerala, it is done in consultation with Leader of the House. In Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly, Presiding Officer gave a decision that Chair can in special circumstances declare that there would be no Question Hour on a particular day. In Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council, it is done in consultation with the House. In Gujarat

decision is taken by Business Advisory Committee. In Haryana, the Question Hour can be dispensed with by the Speaker as and when circumstances so require or if it is decided by the Business Advisory Committee. In Bihar Legislative Council and Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Council the Chairman can order that there will be no Question Hour on a particular day. In Tamilnadu Legislative Council, the Question Hour is suspended on a motion moved under rule 22. On certain occasions, the Presiding Officer announces the same in advance, in consultation with the Business Advisory Committee and the Leader of the House. In Punjab, the Presiding Officer on a suggestion made by the Chief Minister or the House itself, dispenses with the Question Hour after taking the sense of the House. The Business Advisory Committee can also suggest the suspension of the Question Hour on any particular day. In Orissa Legislative Assembly, Bihar Legislative Assembly, both Houses of Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, Presiding Officers dispensed with Question Hour in consultation with the Leaders of different Parties and Groups.⁵

All India Whips Conference held at Bombay in October, 1962 made the recommendation that 'under no circumstances should the Question Hour be allowed to be sacrificed or dispensed with for the sake of transposition of Government business.'⁶

The Question Hour is an infallible right of Members and although under rule 34, the Speaker is empowered to dispense with Question Hour at his discretion, the norms of Parliamentary Democracy claim that such discretion should be exercised in consultation with different Parties or Groups or Business Advisory Committee, which is a representative body of the House.

Now-a-days, we see generally that the Presiding Officer in West Bengal does not use

his discretion but follow the path of wisdom by taking direction of the House or Business Advisory Committee or by seeking the opinion of the Opposition Members. In this way, the Presiding Officer of West Bengal has laid the foundation of healthy parliamentary norms.

I have much pleasure in certifying that Sri Ranajit Basu, M.A.L.L.B., Ph. D., worked under my supervision while preparing the Thesis entitled "Role of Rulings and Decisions of Presiding Officers in the evolution of Parliamentary Democracy in West Bengal (1937-1972)". This thesis earned for him the Ph.D. Degree of the Calcutta University.

The thesis is a pioneering work in the field. The examiners of the thesis spoke highly of the contribution Sri Basu made to the store of knowledge in the particular domain. The Presiding Officers in the legislative bodies have a key role to play in making parliamentary democracy work along correct lines. Bad rulings may kill parliamentary democracy whereas judicious ruling may heal and vitalise the same. The Thesis brings out ably what role the Presiding Officers played in West Bengal. Shri Basu being himself an employee in the West Bengal Legislature for many years had the rare privilege to see the West Bengal Legislature at work for days, months and years. Moreover, he had an easy access to many rare documents and unpublished records and files. From these documents he collected a vast mass of data which he utilised in getting at the findings.

The Thesis, I feel, should be published. It will be of immense help to academicians, legislators and Presiding Officers. They will find many new things here which they can utilise in determining their policies and actions. From that point of view the Thesis has ample social value and contemporary significance.

Sd/—

(S. K. Mukherjee)

1. Rule 34 of Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly.
2. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings : (1) Vol.XX, No. 1, 3.6.1958, P-3 ; (2) Vol. XXVI, 9.5.1960. p-1.
3. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings : Vol.XX. No.4, 31.7.1958, p-477.
4. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings : Vol. XXI, 26.12.1958, p-395
5. Data collected through mailed questionnaire, through Tape Recorded oral interview, through ordinary oral interview of Officers of the respective, Secretariat and also from books.
6. The Journal of Parliamentary Information, Vol.IX, pp-55-56.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IS KEY TO WELFARE OF THE MASSES

J. H. DHOSHI

President, Forum of Free Enterprise.

The country has passed through a traumatic period in recent years. The unprecedented events and the changed thinking of the new government endorse the validity of Forum's stand over the years. The Forum has advocated over the years the close relationship between citizens' free enterprise and the democratic way of living ; the need to develop our basic asset, viz., agriculture, and to give attention to rural areas ; the need to dismantle the structure of cumbersome controls, which have outlived their utility ; to rationalise the tax structure ; to streamline licensing and other procedures in order to encourage economic progress and, not the least, to pursue

economic policies which would provide a stable currency and price structure.

Surveying 30 years of Independence and 26 of planning, we can say that only the blind can ignore the considerable progress made by the country.

In reality, however, the achievements are small compared to what we could have achieved. It is, indeed, a story of lost opportunities and many avoidable omissions. The policy makers and planners completely ignored some of the most favourable factors for economic development such as availability of entrepreneurial skills and the wide contacts of Indians all over the world. If only this talent had been mobilised and encouraged, India

would have emerged as an economic super-power by now. In this context, I cannot do better than quote from a recent article by Shri Bhanu Pratap Singh, Union Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation, in October 1977 issue of "Freedom First". He writes :

"The Indian economy is not in a state of good health. At this, some may raise their eye-brows, and ask questions. Is it not a fact that we have got more than 20 millions tonnes of foodgrains in our buffer stock? Is it not true that we have reserves of foreign exchange of more than Rs. 3,000 crores? Also, is it not true that since 1950-51, we have more than doubled our agricultural production, and more than quadrupled our industrial production?

"All this is true, no doubt; but there is another side of the picture, which is quite alarming. In spite of large foodgrains reserves, the per capita consumption of foodgrains has gone down. The per capita consumption of pulses, which is the only source of protein for the vast majority of our people, has declined steeply from nearly 70 grams in the 1950s to less than 45 grams during recent years. This has happened inspite of continuing heavy import of foodgrains. We imported during the years 1951 to 1953, which were the first three years of the First Plan, 10.77 million tonnes of foodgrains. During the last three years, i. e. in 1974, 1975 and 1976, we have imported 18.8 million tonnes. Thus our dependence on imported foodgrains has increased considerably. There has also been a decline in the per capita consumption of vegetable oils, sugar and cloth. In a poor country like India, if per capita consumption of eatables and cloth goes down, no one can claim that India's economy is flourishing. What is still worse is, that inspite of heavy investments in later years, the growth rate of all major crops in India except wheat has declined after 1960-61. In recent years, even wheat production has remained stagnant.

Taken as a whole, per capita agricultural production today is lower than what it was in 1960-61, which means that agricultural growth has failed to keep pace with the growth in population. As if in sympathy with slowing down of agricultural growth, industrial growth has also considerably declined. The average annual rate of increase in industrial production during the fifteen years between 1950 and 1965 was 7.9%. In the next 10 years, i. e. from 1965-75, the average annual rate of industrial growth declined to 3.3%. Those who plead for rapid industrialisation without caring for agricultural growth should learn a lesson from these figures. Without agricultural growth, it is not possible to have industrial growth in our country. Stagnation in agriculture leads to poor demand for industrial goods, which in turn is bound to affect industrial growth."

What has happened in countries like Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore should be an eyeopener to us. In spite of many constraints which are not faced by India, these countries have shown remarkable economic progress bringing prosperity to the common man. We have talked about the poor and the common man, but the economic policies pursued have hit them the hardest, because creators of wealth—farmers and industrialists—were prevented by controls, heavy direct and indirect taxes and indiscriminate nationalisation from contributing their best, which could have led to the fullest development of our economy.

Conservation of natural resources has become a national imperative. Indiscriminate felling of forests, without a programme of reforestation, has brought the area under forest to about one-fifth as against the national objective of one-third. This has serious implications in terms of rainfall, erosion of farm land, silting up of riverbeds and the ever-increasing damage to human life, property and

crops done by recurring floods. It has been overlooked that forests create many jobs at a level of skill and technology which is locally relevant, and also help to earn foreign exchange.

Provision of drinking water—a big lacunae in our planning—primary education, postal conveniences and rural health facilities are four other areas of national priority which need urgent attention of the Government.

The recently introduced concept of the rolling plan, which means yearly assessment of planned investment, and the new direction to the economy announced by the Government are, therefore, to be welcomed.

Power in a democracy vests with the people. The success of a democratic society

rests upon people's active participation, and not merely in casting a vote once every few years. This is true not only of political power, but also of economic power. When people as consumers and producers take active part in economic activities, on a day-to-day basis, economic democracy becomes meaningful and successful. Only then can the elected representative regulate the economy in public interests, deliver the goods, and the country can create an era of prosperity for the masses.

*Based on presidential speech at 21st Annual General Meeting of the Forum of Free Enterprise in Bombay on 17th October 1977.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Conservation Of Resources in Himalayas

Recently a national seminar on Resources, Development and Environment in The Himalayan Region was convened by Man and Biosphere Committee of the Department of Science and Technology, Government of India. Its sole objective was to take stock of our enormous resources in the Himalayas, covering the entire range of national and biological

wealth, devising methods for their conservation and working out alternative strategies for their utilization without depleting the resources.

If one takes into consideration the wide diversity in climate, rainfall and temperature of the Himalayas, the variety and wealth of its vegetation, need no occasion for surprise. The high mountains, ranging beyond the zone of perpetual snow bordering Tibet on the one

hand, and dry tropical belts merging into the arid regions on the other, provide with a natural barrier for the Himalayan species against migration. The high percentage and wide variety of endemics both of plants and animals is therefore an added attraction of the region. It is no wonder that Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, the author of the monumental work—*Flora of British India*—preferred Himalayas over Antarctic region to which he was given the choice for conducting an expedition. In the Eastern Himalayas alone, while climbing up, one can witness a vertical succession of flora ranging from lower tropical forests with the abundance of Sal trees in the foothills to the temperate, alpine and higher alpine belts dominated by creeping scrubby or extremely dwarf plant communities. The most attractive genus *Rhododendron* with its 84 species in E. Himalayas alone, starts from an elevation of 6000 ft. exemplified by *R. arboreum* trees, reaching upto a height of 18000 ft. in the snowline represented by dwarf *R. nivale*.

In addition to minerals, the vegetational wealth of Himalayas is a treasure of such a magnitude as any country in the world would have been proud of. Living aside the medicinal species like *Dioscorea*, *Digitalis*, *Mentha*, *Atropa*, *Cinchona* and a host of others, there are innumerable species yielding fibre, tannin, resin, paper pulp and others of commercial uses. The North Eastern Himalayas represent the storehouse of wild germ plasms of several of our important crops, the conservation, augmentation and judicious utilization of which is essential for the improvement of agriculture.

The human interference, rapid urbanization of several of the Himalayan regions, and industrialization have resulted in the indiscriminate destruction of flora and fauna, accelerating the pace of extinction of several of the important species. The best example is being provided by the insectivorous pitcher plant *Nepenthes khasiana* of Khasi hills. The entire

ecosystem has been upset, natural equilibrium has been altered and the problems of pollution are becoming enormous. The continuing jhuming cultivation has resulted in the depletion of the pine forests, so characteristic of Khasia region of the Himalayas. As compared to the west, we have hardly any true formation in our country, excepting coconuts of Malabar, *Borassus* palms of Ganjam and pines of Khasi hills. One cannot overestimate the importance of preservation of those important vegetations. Orchids which were once the pride of the Eastern Himalayas, are facing gradual extinction and severe measures are needed for their preservation. Alternative methods of stem tip culturing which are already available for their propagation and cultivation should be widely adopted so that the species can be preserved without hampering our export, necessary for national development.

The presence of so many scientists as well as chief administrators involved in the framing of our national policy in that seminar, was a clear index of the awareness of the problems facing us today. From such an excellent gathering, concrete recommendations have emerged for the conservation and alternate strategies for utilization of our Himalayan resources, which may serve as some of the guidelines of our national policy.

"Science and Culture"

Jobs reserved for disadvantaged groups in Bihar

The Government of Bihar has approved a decision to reserve 20% of government jobs for disadvantaged groups, including 3% of these for women and another 3% for the very poor. The decision was implemented at the end of 1978.

At the same time promotion of employment in rural areas through district industrial centres (see S.L.B. 4/78, p. 407) is starting to change the static life style of the poorest rural families. Surplus rural manpower is being absorbed into schemes launched throughout the State of

Bihar. Small-scale industrial units are spreading. In one district alone, the district industrial centre has planned to help in setting up 1,000 units by the end of 1979—200 have already been established.

Source : The Employers' Federation of India : *Industrial Bulletin* (Bombay), No. 23
1 Dec. 1978, p. 92.

The Overseas Hindustan Times (New Delhi),
1 Feb. 1979, p. 21. —Repvoded from
ILO Bulletin

Roerichs' Canvases Displayed In Moscow

Moscow (APN) : An exhibition of the works of Nikolai and Svyatoslav Roerich was held recently at the USSR Academy of Arts. The names of father and son Roerich—Nikolai and Svyatoslav—are equally cherished by the Russian and Indian peoples.

The 250 works which were brought to the Soviet Union have already been on display in Leningrad, Odessa, Vilnius, Lvov and Kiev. They were taken from the collections of museums in India, Bulgaria and S. Roerich's collection, and equally represent the works of both artists.

The art of Nikolai Roerich is well known to the Soviet people. In 1974 a personal exhibition of his works was held in the USSR to mark his centenary. At that time Svyatoslav Roerich visited the Soviet Union to attend the celebrations of his father's jubilee. He is now Honorary Member of the USSR Academy of Arts.

The Soviet people highly value Nikolai Roerich's works. Nikolai Roerich's Indian landscapes look fantastic, as if belonging to other worlds. In his work the artist often turns to ancient legends.

On display are also works which are unknown to the Soviet people, such as "Yaroslav the wise", "Vasilisa the beautiful", and "Partisans" which were painted during the Great Patriotic War.

Svyatoslav Roerich has inherited his

father's basic principle of work and active humanistic stand. In his monumental canvases—"We are building our own prison", "Nearer to mother-earth", "You must not see this flame", and others, the artist depicts the horrors of war and calls that peace on earth be preserved. —"Cultural Life"

Moscow Film Festival Screening

Moscow (APN) : The programme of the competitive show at the eleventh International Film Festival in Moscow includes the Indian film "Parashuram". The film was warmly met with the audience.

Emil Lotyanu, a well-known Soviet film director (his film "Gipsy Camp Vanishes in the Blue" was widely shown in India), said to the APN correspondent immediately after seeing the film : "I am impressed by this film as a spectator and as a film-maker. The modest history of a little man who is even nameless has grown into an epic story about the fate of the destitute."

With this film, director Mrinal Sen takes part in the Moscow Festival for the third time.

At the Moscow Festival, specifically, a short-length film contest, has shown that its participants in their creative art pursue the ideas of the noble motto of the Festival "For humanism in film art, for peace and friendship between peoples."

Many of the films the Muscovites viewed were shot in hot points of the planet where struggle is under way for freedom and independence.

The audience were greatly impressed by the documentary film "The Journalist is dead," made by a group of Japanese film documentalists. It is devoted to the memory of the Japanese journalist Takano Issao who lost his life during the aggression of China's troops against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. He was reporting from the Vietnamese-Chinese frontier and was hit by a Chinese bullet,

stopping at half-time. The funerals turned into a demonstration of solidarity of the people who come out in defence of the just cause of the Vietnamese people.

An important event of the Moscow Festival was the demonstration of the Vietnamese film "Kampuchea : the destructed land, the rising land." The Vietnamese film director Pham Thang Liema, using news reel sequences, showed on the screen the tragic consequences of the barbarous regime of Pol Pot—Ieng Sary who sought to destroy their own people, using fascist methods, and fascist ideology.

The authors of the film do not limit themselves to citing just facts, but strive to show the ideological sources of the crimes of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary regime, its links with Peking's policy. The film also shows Kampuchea after the victory of the people, the ancient, much-suffering country being brought back to life, the construction of a new life.

The theme of anti-fascist struggle, the inevitability of the victory of the progressive forces over the forces of reaction has got an interesting interpretation in the Czechoslovak documentary film "The Unconquerable Inscription" with Berthold Brecht's verses recited in place of narration. "Stage and Screen"

Symptoms of Recession

V. Mkrtchyan

The tight knot of complex economic problems and critical situations which the capitalist countries have faced of late may lead up to a major economic recession. Statistical data bear this out and leading commentators point to unmistakable symptoms of imminent recession.

Recession causes particular anxiety among the leaders of major capitalist countries. Indeed, one does not often hear the US President himself saying that the United States is on the threshold of a new economic slump. That was just the main message of President Carter's latest speech in Kansas City where the

US President emphasised the need to pursue an austerity policy in the field of economy and carry out measures to curb inflation and avert approaching recession.

The US administration also admitted officially that economic recession was looming over the country in a report prepared by the White House's Office of Management and Budget. The report said that in 1979 inflation would continue at the rate of 10.6 per cent while prices would go up by 8.3 per cent. This year the gross national product would decrease by 0.5 per cent, another indication of a let-up in the economic growth rates. As a result, the report said, by the end of the year unemployment would have gone up to 6.6 per cent.

The situation is not much better in other capitalist countries. Judging by the data published in Paris by experts of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a grouping embracing 24 leading capitalist nations, economic growth rates will continue to fall in those countries in the next few years, while unemployment will keep growing.

The OECD experts claim that in the next 12 months the gross national product of the OECD member countries will grow by as little as 2 per cent while unemployment will increase substantially, totalling 19 million people within the next year. The authors of the report believe that inflation which will soon surpass 10 per cent will remain one of the most serious problems.

The decision of the Western governments to continue increasing wasteful military expenditures is utterly unjustified against the background of growing economic troubles. Military spending is the main accelerator of inflation. The US administration's appropriations for the Pentagon for the 1980 fiscal year, which total \$ 138,200 million, will be increased by another \$ 200 million this year.

This unreasonable and dangerous policy,

which ignores the real needs of the country, is the cause of the "crisis of confidence" and "erosion of belief in the future", the phrases which are now in common currency in the halls of power in Washington. This policy is a source of uncertainty and scepticism which have now gripped the working people and also the business community in the capitalist world. The latest fall of the dollar on the world currency markets and the drop of the Dow-Jones index on the New York stock exchange, the main indicator of the state of the leading industries, bear this out.

The spectre of recession is haunting the capitalist world. It may erupt into a major economic crisis, confirming the undisputable fact that capitalism is unable to resolve the complex problems which face the industrial Western countries.

Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

U.S. Vice-President visits Israel

U.S. Vice-President Mondale, his wife Joan and daughter Eleanor flew into Ben-Gurion Airport on 30 June at the head of a large entourage of officials, newsmen and prominent American Jews. A ceremonial welcome awaited them, with Mr. Mondale's joint hosts, Premier Menahem Begin and Knesset (Parliament) Speaker Yitzhak Shamir, leading the entire cabinet and other dignitaries in the welcoming party.

At a reception in King David's Hotel in Jerusalem Mr. Mondale conveyed "love and congratulations from President Carter and the American people" for Israel's 30th Anniversary. Mr. Mondale praised Prime Minister Begin as a leader who "serves his country with a full heart and dedication".

In the crowded ballroom, where most of the cabinet, U.S. embassy officials and Jewish organizational leaders mingled, Mr. Mondale stated that in the history of nations, "there has never been a friendship between two nations

as between Israel and the American people over the past 30 years." He added, "we're part of the same family."

The U.S. has been enriched, he said, by Israel's development in the fields of science, art and culture. "All humanity is in your debt."

"News From Israel"

Albert Einstein

Swami Tathagatananda

"Get out! Don't argue with me. Don't try to tell me what can and what cannot be done! I tell you no one will ever use my formula to make an explosive. It cannot be done." Einstein in Berlin, was shouting in an animated voice raised in anger. He was always soft-spoken and suave and never raised his voice. This was unusual behaviour which manifested when he was confronted by a certain person seeking his help in releasing the energy locked in the atom. It was 1919.

From the beginning of his university career, Einstein was seized by a desire to become 'a citizen of the world'. He was a staunch pacifist. Having been born and brought up in Germany and having had bitter experience with military despotism in Munich, he dreaded military power and its wanton violence. Although as a scientist it was his duty to go on exploring the possibilities of atomic power, he felt that as a civilized man who despised militarism and longed for permanent peace for the world he should carry his atomic studies no further. He dreaded this awful power, this tremendous capacity for destruction which waited to be unleashed. Since 1919 he secretly bore some kind of strain within himself and never shared it with anybody. Possibly it was brought about by the premonition that through his formula atomic energy might be released before the world was prepared for it. He refused to make experiments, gave up his own laboratory work, and gradually shifted his interest to other matters—politics, government, peace and the increase of tolerance throughout

INDIAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

the world.

He shared the noble agony of Alfred Nobel. In order to atone for his destructive invention, dynamite, in order to relieve his tortured conscience, Nobel established his awards for the promotion of peace. It almost seemed as if Einstein were driven by a feeling of guilt for the indirect help he had given to the release of the destructive power of the atom. From then onwards he was determined to devote more time for furthering the peaceful use of atomic energy. Later, after the actual explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the old man said : 'Our generation has brought into the world the most revolutionary force since prehistoric man's discovery of fire.' Einstein was deeply shocked. After the war, he gave vent to his pentup emotions by expressing his deep regret. To the visiting Japanese physicist, Hideki Yukawa, he expressed apology personally with tears. In passing it may be recalled what he told Linus Pauling : 'I may have made the mistake of my life when I signed the letter to President Roosevelt recommending that atom bombs be made. But there was some justification—the danger that Germany would make them.' On another occasion he said, 'Had I known that the Germans would not succeed in developing an atomic bomb, I would have done nothing for the bomb.'

Einstein was an enigmatic personality in science. 'He is the only scientist who has become a cult figure, even among scientists.' He was the great genius of integration in the field of natural science. Bertrand Russell wrote

in 1924 that the theories of relativity are 'probably the greatest synthetic achievement of the human intellect up to the present time.' They 'sum up the mathematical and physical labours of more than 2,000 years. Pure geometry from Pythagoras to Riemann, the dynamics of astronomy of Galileo and Newton, the theory of electromagnetism as it resulted from the researches of Faraday, Maxwell and their successors, are all absorbed with the necessary modifications in the theories of Einstein.'

Greatest scientist though he was, he did not keep himself absorbed in the Olympian heights of pure theoretical research. He was very much concerned with burning human problems. His human aspect—his profound love for democracy, his sympathy for all mankind, his ideal of pacifism, his lively interest in solving pressing human problems, his unassuming simple life, and above all his mystical bent of mind—won over the hearts of people all over the world. They may not have comprehended the theory of relativity or the implication of $E=mc^2$, but they had an instinctive sense that he dealt not just in scientific truths but in moral truths. He was one of the first to point out to the world of medicine that the atom might be of use in curing disease. The Swiss claimed him as a Swiss, the Germans claimed him as a German, the Jews claimed him as a Jew, others claimed him as a scientist or a humanitarian. Common people all over the world recognized in him a great friend and humanist.

"Prabuddha Bharata"



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Future is Manngedable Schumacher's Lectures
Compiled and Edited by M.M. Hoda, Executive
Director, Appropriate Technology Development
Association (India) Lucknow, published by
IMPEX INDIA, New Delhi (2-18 Ansari Road,
110003) Price 30,\$ 6. Demy Oct. PP. 96+XVI
Paper Board Cloth Edge binding with art jacket.
Foreword by Sri Jayprakash Narayan and
Introduction by Professor Warren E. Adams,
Economic Adviser to the Intermediate Techno-
logy Development Group Ltd (ITDG) of
London. Sri Jayprakash Narayan writes :—
"Dr. E.F. Schumacher is one of those Western
philosophers who have fully imbibed the
wisdom of the East. He is the most powerful
ambassador of the Eastern thought and philo-
sophy in the Western world.....Schumacher is
an old friend of mine. I have always held him
in high esteem. I invited him on two occasions
to come to India to advise on rural industriali-
sation and appropriate Technology.....I am
very glad that the lectures delivered by him
during his visit are being published in the form
of this book. I deem it a privilege to write a
foreword for it and congratulate the editor
Mansurul Hoda for this venture.

"In his lectures Schumacher has brought a
breath of fresh air. He examines Gandhi
from new angles and shows that modern econo-
mics has few answers to the challenges thrown
by his critiques of the social order; Gandhi
according to him, is the greatest people's
protector. Taking a cue from Gandhi,
he proposes three remedies for the
maladies of the modern society, namely, small-
ness simplicity and non-violence. If my
countrymen could examine these proposals and
try to put them into practice, that would be a

great step forward. There is a need in India
to take up a new type of radicalism.....
Gandhi, and Schumacher's ideas will bring the
youth of this country to a really modern or
rather to the post-modern type of radicalism.
The essence of Schumacher's message is
'decentralisation' and 'transfer of power to the
people'. This is also the message of 'total revo-
lution' for which I gave a call to the people of
India on 5th June 1974.....Has India the
courage to give a lead to the world by adopting
the suggestions made by Gandhi and Schuma-
cher? Perhaps it could because it has a tradi-
tion of producing men like Buddha, Kabir,
Nanak and Gandhi".

Dr. Schumacher died towards the latter half
of 1977. The Introduction written by
Professor W. E. Adams was written after Dr.
Schumacher's demise. Prof. Adams says in his
Introduction :— "No one who has ex-
perienced the wealth of the Indian culture and
the rich variety of its philosophic fabric—
weaving together strands of Hinduism,
Buddhism, Islam and Christianity—could fail
to appreciate the dynamic appeal of India to
Schumacher and vice versa. There was a
natural interaction and symbiosis between his
direct ties to the Gandhian tradition and close
relationships to the contemporary Indian
leaders and programmes.....This book will
help preserve his (Dr. Schumacher's) ideas and
inspiration, but it is up to us, the readers, to
nurture and cultivate the seeds he sowed to
bring into full flower his conviction and hope
that not only economics, but technologies and
life itself could be ordered "as if people
mattered".

Founded by : RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST



1979

Vol. CXXXXIII No. 7

Whole No. 860

NOTES

Downfall of Western Civilisation

A talented man called Spengler (as we remember) wrote a strikingly interesting book which he named "Downfall of Western Civilisation" (original in the German language titled "untergang des Abendlandes" or a similar name). His thesis was that the march of progress of the nations of Europe and America was along lines that would inevitably destroy the States they have built up and the socio-economic institutions they have setup. If we remember right he did refer to the moral degeneration that will follow the affluence of the peoples of the Western nations but did not particularly define the nature of degradation. Highly destructive weapons of war and many other killers that civilisation brings into existence were mentioned. Many decades have passed since that book was published and Western civilisation continues exist and oppress wide areas of the world in the economic sense and in other ways. There are no acute

symptoms of the prophesied "Downfall" nor any dangers of immediately impending atomic or bacterial warfare. The only thing that is causing any cracks to appear in the structure of the body of the socio-politics-economic body of that highly complex civilisation is the moral degradation which is becoming more and more acute day by day. They say nobody can (women) walk out along the streets of New York after sunset and that sex crimes and unnatural offences are becoming more and more common in the cities of America. In Great Britain one dares not answer a door bell for fear of being knocked on the head with a hard object and then being robbed or assaulted or both by a criminal who specialises in this type of aggressive activity. There are others who attack children and parents cannot send their children to school unless escorted by able bodied men. Women cannot drive out alone in motor vehicles during evening hours for fear of being attacked by persons who look for

lone women drivers and get into the cars at stoppages and frighten the women by displaying lethal weapons and force them to go with the criminals. What happens there after would depend on the criminals particular type of crime obsession. Usually it is robbery, but there have been many cases of criminal assault too. In any case women dare not go out in self driven cars after office hours in many British Cities now a days. This never happened twenty years ago and does not happen in Asian cities like Calcutta or Bombay. We hear about such cases in our capital city of Delhi but it has just begun and may be scotched before it can develop into social menace. We don't think there are many Western type of criminals India but crime is infectious and does not take very long to find new followers in other countries or distant continents.

For Ever on the Edge of a Precipice

The world is always precariously poised between war and peace. One false step and there is war, revolution, overthrowing of governments or a serious break away from established alignments and creation of new friends and foes. Skirmishes take place but war like moves do not intensify and go from bad to worse. Export international thinkers tell the world public how near they have been to war and suggest ways of maintaining peace even with an evergrowing body of war mongers in all states which had the ability to indulge in aggressive activities. And the present moment we find many possibilities of the world sliding into a dangerous vortex and once that happens nothing can drag out the countries involved to a place of safety and peace. The countries which get mixed up with war mongering states usually do so by following their likes and dislikes in the sphere of interstate relations. This happens when they express their views about the politicians of other countries some of whom are always

inclined to be offensive in their emotional outbursts. Their actions are seldom as aggressive as their words and that is why no wars usually develop out of the exchange of hot words. There is also the deterrent factor of big power patronage. Most small states have their protectors who belong to the power blocks and these strong and heavily armed states do not encourage their proteges to start wars. So that, when the protected states go deeper into warlike involvements the protectors usually manage to remove tensions and bring back normal conditions. The getting into trouble is therefore achieved by the small states while the pulling out of difficulties is done by big powers. The big powers are always ready for war; but they do not move into any position, if they can help it, from which they can not come out without loss of face and sacrifice of political advantages. The big powers at the present moment are the USA, the USSR and The Peoples Republic of China. The USA have many a small state sticking to it as proteges. There are other states which are militarily quite capable of putting up a fight but which move and shift position as advised by the USA. The important members of the USA power bloc are the United Kingdom, France, West Germany Japan and Italy. The other super power, the USSR have scores of states under its wings. Among these states are Poland, Czechoslovakia East Germany and many smaller states. China has no small states to look after but is a vast state with a tremendous war machine at its command which can be used to subdue other powers if found necessary. There are many small states with soldiers and weapons which the big powers can make use of. Thus the USA has Israel, Egypt, Uietnam, Pakistan while the USSR can call upon States like Cuba. North Korea etc to live up behind Soviet organisation. These big powers however try not to start a war for modern nuclear weapons make warfare as destructive for the victors as for the losers.

DISPENSE WITH QUESTION HOUR—SPEAKER'S ROLE IN WEST BENGAL

RANAJIT BASU

In the modern Parliamentary Democracy asking of question to Ministers plays a very important part. A British Parliament Procedural Committee described the Question Hour as "perhaps the readiest and the most effective method of Parliamentary control over the actions of the Executive." The observation is also true about the Question Hour of West Bengal Legislative Assembly. Asking of questions to Ministers is the inherent right of the Members and the Ministers also feel it their duty to supply information. ".....the residuary impression left on a visitor" of Question Hour, "invariably is that he has been at close quarters" where "Parliamentary Democracy in action."

The first hour of every sitting of the West Bengal Assembly is allotted for the asking and

answering questions. But this arrangement is subject to changes under the Speaker's directions.¹ There are occasions when under the Speaker's direction, on oral questions are placed before the House on certain days. It may be mentioned that the Conference of Presidents and Speakers of Legislative Chambers in British India agreed generally as far back as in January, 1928 that the President has no power except with the unanimous consent of the House to pass over questions and proceed to other business.

Here two charts will show how many days House has gone without questions at the particular period. But on some of these days question was not placed on agreement. (Chart Nos.1 and 2).

CHART NO. 1

During 1952-1957 there were 346 days of actual sittings of the Assembly and out of which no questions were taken up on 99 days, that is 28.7 percent of sitting days went without a Question Hour. The following table will speak :

Session	No. of sittings	No. of days on which no questions were taken up
1. June-August, 1952	40	14
2. February-May, 1953	52	11
3. November, 1953	15	2
4. February-April, 1954	38	4
5. August-September, 1954	21	4
6. February-April, 1955	46	15
7. August-October, 1955	46	12
8. December, 1955	10	3
9. February-March, 1956	39	17
10. July-September, 1956	30	12
11. January-March, 1957	9	5
	346	99

CHART NO. 2

During 1957-1960 there were 265 days of actual sitting of the Assembly and out of which no questions were taken up on 147 days, that is 55.5 percent of actual sitting of Assembly went without Question Hour.

Session	No. of actual sittings	No. of days on which questions were not taken up	No. of days on which questions were taken up for $\frac{1}{2}$ hours
1. June-July, 1957.	32	25	X
2. November-Dec., 1957	18	2	9
3. February-March, 1958	43	18	X
4. June-July, 1958	45	29	X
5. December-January, 1958-1959	22	9	
6. February-March, 1959	38	19	11
7. September-Oct., 1959	10	6	X
8. November-Dec., 1959	16	8	X
9. February-April, 1960	41	31	X

But on one occasion objection being raised regarding dispense with Question Hour, Chair observed that it should be made in consultation with different parties and groups. It is done so to give more time to other business. In consultation with different Parties, Chair decided not to place questions for certain days and even in a whole of session.² But it was done on agreement. On one such occasion Mr. Speaker observed: "Let it be clearly understood that unless there is an agreement the questions must follow as a matter of course except on non-official days. It is purely a matter of agreement."³

Mr. Speaker also on another occasion declared: "I always take the precaution of consulting members of the Opposition in particular as to what the next programme is going to be. Mr. Ganesh Ghosh (Opposition Chief Whip) insisted on questions being taken up today and almost against our wishes we had to fix this programme."⁴

Now-a-days, Business Advisory Committee

decides in this matter and after adoption of the report by the House, it becomes the order of the House.

It would be worthwhile to look into the practices followed by different Presiding Officers of Legislative Bodies in India.

The House agreeing unanimously, the Question Hour is dispensed with in Lok Sabha. In Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly only on a Motion under Rule 22 of the Assembly Rules the House should unanimously resolve to that effect. Himachal Pradesh follows the Lok Sabha practice and Presiding Officer there does not suo-motu declare that there will not be any Question Hour on a particular day. In Kerala, it is done in consultation with Leader of the House. In Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly, Presiding Officer gave a decision that Chair can in special circumstances declare that there would be no Question Hour on a particular day. In Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council, it is done in consultation with the House. In

Gujarat decision is taken by Business Advisory Committee. In Haryana, the Question Hour can be dispensed with by the Speaker as and when circumstances so require or if it is decided by the Business advisory Committee. In Bihar Legislative Council and Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Council the Chairman can order that there will be no Question Hour on a particular day. In Tamilnadu Legislative Council, the Question Hour is suspended on a motion moved under rule 22. On certain occasions, the Presiding Officer announces the same in advance, in consultation with the Business Advisory Committee and the Leader of the House. In Punjab, the Presiding Officer on a suggestion made by the Chief Minister or the House itself, dispenses with the Question Hour after taking the sense of the House. The Business Advisory Committee can also suggest the suspension of the Question Hour on any particular day. In Orissa Legislative Assembly, Bihar Legislative Assembly, both Houses of Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, Presiding Officers dispensed with Question Hour in consultation with the Leaders of different Parties and Groups.⁵

All India Whips Conference held at Bombay in October, 1962 made the recommendation that 'under no circumstances should the Question Hour be allowed to be sacrificed or dispensed with for the sake of transaction of Government business'.⁶

The Question Hour is an infallible right of Members and although under rule 34, the Speaker is empowered to dispense with Ques-

tion Hour at his discretion, the norms of Parliamentary Democracy claim that such discretion should be exercised in consultation with different Parties or Groups or Business Advisory Committee, which is a representative body of the House.

Now-a-days, we see generally that the Presiding Officer in West Bengal does not use his discretion but follow the path of wisdom by taking direction of the House or Business Advisory Committee or by seeking the opinion of the Opposition Members. In this way, the Presiding Officer of West Bengal has laid the foundation of healthy parliamentary norms.

1. Rule 34 of Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly.
2. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings : (1) Vol. XX, No. 3.6. 1958, p-3 ; (2) Vol. XXVI, 9.5. 1960, p-1.
3. West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings : Vol. XX, No.4, 31.7. 1953, p-477.
West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings : Vol. XXI, 26. 12. 1953, p-395
5. Data collected through mailed questionnaire, through Tape Recorded oral interview, through ordinary oral interview of Officers of the respective Secretariat and also from books.
6. The Journal of Parliamentary Information, Vol. IX, pp-55-56.

THE FUTURE OF GOLD

S. N. SONAWALA

On 3rd October 1979, I gave an interview to the 'Economic Times' regarding the uptrend in gold, wherein I mentioned "the sky is the limit for rise in price of gold and silver." Gold price ruling at that time in India was Rs. 1, 200, while international price was \$ 380. Subsequent to this, price touched Rs. 1, 700 on January 4th, 1980 in Bombay and \$ 835 highest on January 18th in the international market. Now it is Rs. 1, 360 per 10 gms. in Bombay and \$ 650 per oz. abroad.

When we discuss future of gold, we discuss three main aspects of gold. (i) Status of gold in monetary systems. (ii) Role of gold in the present day economy as a metal. (iii) The price of gold.

I will discuss firstly the status of gold in monetary system.

After Second World War i.e. in 1950, it was mooted by prominent economists that gold should play a secondary role in monetary system and decided to have a Reserve currency as a medium of international transactions. They chose dollar as medium of exchange and Reserve Currency. It worked well till dollar was accepted as a currency stable in value in terms of all international settlements. But subsequent to 1965, the situation changed and dollar began to show the sign of weakness, as the U. S. instead of having surplus balance of payment ran into deficit area. This resulted in large holding of dollars outside U. S. A. It is estimated at present to be about \$ 400 billion. Some estimate that public debt of U. S. Government has reached \$ 900 billion.

Since 1970, oil producing countries raised

the price of oil which was the energy for all countries. I need not elaborate this point as everybody knows that oil price which was around \$ 1.70 per barrel in 1950 is now about \$ 30 per barrel. O. P. E. C. countries are producing 30 million barrels a day and there are others also. Oil production is about 51.5 million barrel per day outside communist countries alone by sale of oil is \$ 460 billion per year and OPEC countries alone have \$ 270 billion earnings. If dollar assets go lower in value in terms of other commodities which has been happening, what is the alternative investment which they may hold against their assets of dollars?

All those who had dollar balances began to sell dollars and began to buy other currencies. But when other currencies also showed signs of losing value, those holders of dollars began to buy gold instead. This happened in 1978 and gold began to move up from \$ 173 per oz. in May 1978 to \$ 600 in January 1980.

There seems to be some relationship between gold and oil prices. In 1950 oil price was about \$ 1.70 per barrel. At that time gold was at \$ 35 i.e. ratio was 20:1. Today oil price is about \$ 30 a barrel; gold price is about \$ 600 i.e. 20:1.

This is the monetary aspect of gold. Central Banks have about 1000 million ozs. of gold, but are not supplying any gold for this world demand. So this demand is satisfied by sale from production, old stock and the supply by communist countries. Total non-communist world production of gold is about 1000 tons in 1978 but of which 75% is supplied by South Africa. While 250 tons is supplied by

other countries like Latin America, Canada, U. S. A. and others. The communist countries supplied about 400 tons. Thus total supply is 1400 tons. Out of total demand of about 1742 tons in 1978, the total fabrication in developed countries is 1073 tons and in developing countries 479 tons while investment was about 200 tons.

This normal demand increased considerably by buying by OPEC and other countries. The gap was filled in by supplies from IMF and US Treasury. In spite of IMF selling gold and US Treasury's supply, the demand remained more than supply.

So this is gold as metal. Production is by and large with South Africa. Other supply to fill in the gap as in the hands of Communist countries. In New Orleans conference, I said that South Africa may curtail its supply, will not be in need to sell gold with higher gold price and with surplus balance of trade; while supply from Russia is unpredictable. Thus there is uncertainty of supply. The Central Bank reserves have increased in value with the rise in price of gold. This has brought more liquidity in currency as well as better backing against currency inflation.

The status of gold is now thus reestablished. All the Central Banks and other institutions like EEC, Monetary Banks want to keep

at least some percentage of their holdings in Gold. But these Central Banks do not desire to part with their gold reserves. The attempt to return to gold standard by offering gold against currency at a fixed rate has not been successful. Besides in USA private citizens have been permitted to use gold, as assets. Even pension funds are allowed to invest in gold.

Thus gold has been accepted as Reserve Assets against depreciation of currency and a hedge against inflation.

It is a fact known to all that all democratic countries have fairly large inflation in their economy. Inflation has come to stay and has been accepted as means to growth of economy. Besides no politician in a democratic country can afford deflation, unemployment and falling prices. Thus inflation has become a way of life.

Inflation is defined as a state of affairs in economy of a country where the growth of money is faster than the growth of production.

When money is generated faster than production of commodities, money loses its value in terms of commodities. It is opined by experts that when inflation is running at

per cent per annum	The value of money becomes half in years	The increase in price of com- modities to rise per annum	5	14	3½%
			10	7	7%
			15	5	10%
			20	4	12½%
			25	3	17%

USA is running inflation into double digit, i.e. about 12% the dollar is losing its value at the rate of about 8 to 10% per annum.

The protection against the loss of value of currency is investments into gold or silver, land, diamonds and various precious and non-precious metals. This is also one of the

reasons for rise in price of gold.

So long inflation is going to stay in USA and in the world so long as USA economy is unstable and its political stability is not assured, so long as OPEC countries are converting their dollar assets into gold, the price of gold is likely to stay higher. Though the larger

liquidity ratio between currency and gold imparts some stability to currency assets, and the uptrend in gold price is resisted but not stopped.

I therefore believe gold price will remain around \$ 550 to \$ 750 for the year 1980, with long run tendency to rise to \$ 1000. I am one who believes that the higher gold price benefits the nation, creates liquidity, checks inflation and imparts stability to economy. Gold has an important role to play against inflation. So long as that role continues there is future in gold value.

Now I turn to India.

India has been importing gold since times immemorial. In 1929, League of Nations gold delegation assessed gold holding in India. It is estimated that gold absorption in India since 1855 upto 1980 is to the tune of 5467 tons valued around Rs. 5523 crores, i.e. at Rs. 100 per 10 gms. The price ruling is Rs. 1,360 per 10 gms. Recently rise in price of gold to \$ 500 is equivalent in parity to Rs. 1,500. The Indian price did not go up in comparison and therefore Indian price which remained always

higher than the international price is at present below the international price. It is observed that some gold is also smuggled out of India on that account. I personally feel that this is a temporary phase and Indian price will go up and will be in line with international price. But may be the rise may not be so fast. Thus the situation is when Indian price is lower than international price because there are people who want to sell their gold holdings to take advantage of higher price. This is the first time when such situation has happened. What the preaching of economists, the wishful thinking of politicians to curb the lure of gold was not able to achieve has now become a reality. Such is also the situation in silver also. Our masses are more calculating than our theorists, economists and preachers of political science. They know the value of money better than most of our learned scholars. The wise men should take advantage of this situation and offer gold bonds to them who want to part with their gold, so this precious metal is not drained off abroad as it happens in case of silver.



NARS—LANDING—A GATEWAY TO THE SOLAR SYSTEM

SANTOSH KUMAR DE

When the United States astronauts of Apollo-11 landed on the moon, breaking the fence of earth's gravitation, people became stunned with awe and wonder. Just at that time another adventurous drama was being played behind the scene which people failed to notice or if noticed did not pay proper attention to its far-reaching effect. Today, we are going to describe that not-remembered drama.

The drama is this : Almost along with the landing of Apollo-11 on the moon in mid 1969, two U.S. robot crafts—Mariner 6 and 7 were approaching Mars with infinite possibility.

Mariner-6, after 156 days of flight through 388 million kilometres of space, came to within about 3,200 kilometres of Mars' equatorial region at about 0500 GMT July 31, 1969 just 11 days following the Apollo-11 moon landing.

On seeing the success of Mariner-6 and getting direction about the right path, the second Mars craft, Mariner-7 started. It took lesser time than its predecessor, and reached Mars' south pole region at about 0500 G.M.T. August 5, 1969 after traversing a space of 315 million kilometres only in 130 days.

The two 382.5 kilogram crafts were equipped with cameras and sensitive sensors which transmitted information, hitherto unknown automatically or when desired by radio command from earth—across about 96 million kilometres of space. Mariner 6 and 7 transmitted 22 detailed photographs of selected regions of Mars. They revealed a crater-pocked deserted surface similar to that of moon.

Now, a question may be posed why space

scientists became so eager to reach Mars disregarding the claim of Venus which is nearer to earth than Mars ? Of the nine planets in the solar system, the earth ranks third in nearness to the sun. Mars ranking fourth, is earth's neighbour. Though Venus, second-ranking planet in sun distance, follows an orbital path that keeps it usually close to the earth than Mars, why are scientists so eager to explore it before exploring Venus ? Is it neglected because it is our next-door neighbour, so to say, or are there cogent reasons behind it ? Yes, there are some reasons. Venus is believed to be far less amenable to exploration. Investigations from the earth through giant radio telescopes and from the United States and Soviet robot space-crafts which went close to Venus indicate that the planet's thick cloudy atmosphere is opaque. The extreme heat (almost boiling point) will prevent landing not only of man but also of robot craft which will burn to ashes before landing there.

Now, let us gather some information about Venus, so that we may understand the difficulty of landing there. Venus ranks second, as has already been said in the solar system. Its average distance from the sun is 6 crore, 70 lakh miles ; but the distance is not constant—sometimes the distance from the sun increases, sometimes decreases. While rotating in its orbital path Venus comes between the sun and the earth, its distance from the earth is about 2 crore, 57 lakh and 60 thousand miles ; but when it is on the opposite side of the earth, its distance is more than 16 crore miles. Venus is seen from the earth rotating sometimes before the sun and sometimes behind the sun. When

it is before the sun it is seen before the sun rises, and we call it the 'morning star'; but when it is behind the sun, it is seen after sun set. It is called then the 'evening star'. Venus is very much inhospitable. It seems to warn men—Do not come here wayward traveller, I am parched and dry, I cannot entertain you. Most probably it will not be possible to land there in foreseeable future, and also probably it will severely limit observations by instrumented crafts. That is why scientists have not ventured to explore it.

In contrast, Mars appears to be the most earthlike of the planets. The orbit of the earth being in the orbit of Mars it never comes in between the earth and the sun. Mars, seen from the earth through the telescope, appears to be of bright red-and-yellow colour. On seeing this colour, some presume that there may be water and vegetation life, and people whose imagination runs riot think that there may be people who are of far more intelligence than the inhabitants of our planet. H.G.Wells has painted a beautiful picture of Mars in his fiction—The War of the Worlds and Arthur C. Clarke has also written a few science fictions about this planet. Speculation that Mars may harbour life remains justified even though no conclusive evidence has yet turned up. The question of life on Mars will be finally answered when man will land there.

However, the fact is, Mars like other planets orbits the sun from west to east in ellipse; so their distance is not always the same. Its distance from the sun at the farthest point is 14 crore, 10 lakh miles. At their closest encounters once every two years, earth and Mars remain usually 56 million kilometres apart—or about 150 times the average distance between earth and moon; in other word, a Mars Voyage, therefore, involves, multiplying a moon trip 150 times. A round trip to Mars would, therefore, lead man through millions of miles of space; and would

take 18 months to more than two years; whereas a trip to the moon would take only three days.

The scientific data about Mars that we have been able to collect from the information transmitted by Mariner 6 and 7 are that its atmosphere is extremely thin, but transparent. Oxygen is apparently absent as are bodies of water like lakes and seas. Underground water may or may not be available. The day on Mars is close to the familiar length of 24 hours. The Mars' gravity pull is less than that of the earth, but more than twice as great as that of the moon. Mars' four seasons are apparently similar to those on earth, though almost twice as long. A year consists of 687 days. These are the reasons that have goaded scientists to probe Mars. They now say to Mars—take off thy veil of mystery, let us gaze at thy beautiful face.

Just as a timetable has been drawn for colonizing the moon, similarly a time table has been drawn for landing on Mars.

On November 28, 1964 the United States launched a primitive automated spacecraft on a seven-and-one-half-month journey to Mars. After traversing a space of more than 520 million kilometres, the craft passed Mars at a distance of only 9,844 kilometres on July 14, 1965. Next Mariner-4 was launched, and at the time of its closest approach to Mars, the craft was nearly 217 million kilometres from the earth.

In (1970) another robot craft was sent to Mars. In 1971 two more Mariner vehicles will be launched and they will remain in Mars orbit for three months, during which they will relay further data to earth. In 1973, a still more adventurous programme, named Project Viking is to culminate in sending into Mars orbit two other crafts from which landing capsules are to detach themselves and after landing softly on Mars surface report their findings to earth. That is exactly the ways and

methods that were taken for landing on moon will be followed.

As a result of the untiring efforts of more than ten lakhs of space scientists and technicians, and at a high price paid : \$24,000 million and the lives of three astronauts—Virgil I. Grissom, Edward H. White and Roger B. Chaffé who died in a fire while ground-testing, the Apollo Command Spacecraft-11 finally landed on the moon after continuous efforts of 3000 days (from May 5 1961 to July 21, 1969) and the whole world became wonder-struck. Next Apollo-12 showed further success. Being encouraged with their success Apollo-13 built at a cost of \$ 50 million was launched to gather fresh glory ; but all efforts ended in smoke for a single mistake, and the mistake was, NASA forgot in hurry to devise any means of keeping the spaceship moving if machinery failed same how to work in the outer space.

NASA is no more going to commit the same mistake. So this time when astronauts will be lofted into space for landing on Mars, engineers and technicians with their equipment would be sent along with them. So their number will increase from 3 to 4 at least. And this leads to another difficulty.

1) How to carry sufficient food and drink and enough oxygen for so many people for two years or more ? Scientists are racking their brains but have not yet been able to devise any suitable means. The food articles that will have to be taken must be light and full of vitamins ; moreover it will have to be preserved for a long time. The food-containers must be light. This problem did not arise when space vehicles were launched for the moon, as that was a 72-hour trip only.

No spaceship conceivable with latest technology could carry sufficient food, drink and oxygen to sustain even a small crew for that length of time. So scientists are of opinion that the spacecraft would almost have to

become a miniature earth. That is, a "closed-cycle system" providing waste recovery for continuous reconstruction of the atmosphere and for growing food on board should be followed. If this is possible, the spacecraft would be able to travel light.

2) There is another difficulty. How would it be possible for 10 to 12 persons to remain confined in one or two small-area rooms for about two years ? They shall have no free movements. They would neither hear the voice of their near and dear ones except through mechanical means, nor would they see any lovely scenery of this sea-girt and forest-belted earth. To spend two years in lying or sitting posture is unconceivable. It would tell upon their health—their whole nervous system will break down, they will become insane. So even if the 'closed-cycle system' is successful, the interior of the spaceship would have to be far more spacious, and there would need to be a minimum recreational facilities aboard as in a seafaring ship, if the crew members are to be maintained in high physical and mental condition required of them for this difficult mission. But if the spacecraft becomes as big as a small ocean-going ship, how would it be possible to launch it in the outer space ?

3) There is another difficulty. Will it be possible for astronauts to spend two years in weightless condition ? Will it not impair their health ?

4) It is not difficult to land a robot craft on Mars, but it would be difficult to send a manned vehicle there. The greatest difficulty is the distance—the endless gulf of space, void replete with hazards : out-burst of fatal cosmic radiation and showers of meteors.

5) Next difficulty is the speed of the spaceship. If speed is not considerably increased and the duration of the flying-time reduced, it will be very difficult but not impossible to reach Mars.

These are the difficulties that scientists have

to face. But they are not idle. They have been trying to find out ways and means and technological advances are being geared for obviating difficulties. And this we mark in the programme of NASA for landing spacecraft on Mars in 1980-1990. At present, as it is it would take two years to reach Mars, if the speed of the craft is not incredibly increased. Many dangers and difficulties may crop up in that period and the whole attempt may end in failure. So NASA has decided instead of making the spacecraft sufficiently spacious for carrying engineers and technicians for making necessary repairs if or when necessary, to send along with the manned vehicle a second craft which will travel side by side the manned vehicle at the same robot speed, and if any difficulty arises astronauts will board the robot craft and reach their destination without altering their programme. Well and good, but if the robot craft fails, what then? No, we need not think on this line. Any way, it will obviate difficulty to a great extent. Moreover, Apollo-14 (to start in January, 1971) would be redesigned to help prevent a recurrence of disaster. The major changes will include the addition of a third oxygen tank, reduced use of metals which react with oxygen under high pressure, and a more effective warning system to inform future astronauts of systems breakdown. It is estimated that the changes will cost between \$ 10 and 15 billions.

A trip from earth to Mars will take two years or more. So experiment is being made to see how long a man can live in weightless condition in space. A Soviet astronaut recently after spending 424 hours i. e. more than 17 days in Soyuz-9 in space returned to earth quite hale and hearty. Before this, American astronauts—Frank Borman and James Lavel set up a long duration flight record of about 14 days in their craft, Gemini-7. From Huntington Beach (America) comes

a news that long period of stay in space is being practised in simulation space station (12.2 meter long metal cylinder). Four men were kept in the space station for 90 days—the longest period ever attempted. The four lived on their recycled body wastes oxygen reclaimed from the carbon dioxide they exhaled into water regenerated from their urine and perspiration. The regenerative life support system and the crew functioned so effectively that the test could be continued beyond 90 days. This was the first long-term test of a completely closed ecological system. The latest record (2.11.78) of a man living in weightless condition in space is 140 days.

All these experiments are a prelude to Mars landing. If it is not possible for a man to remain in space for two years and another two years or more for return journey, the expedition to Mars would not be possible.

To obviate the difficulty of distance to some extent, experiment will be made to see whether it is possible to land a craft on Mars without orbiting it. If successful, time and distance will be reduced to some extent.

Experiments are also being made to increase the speed of the spacecraft. At present, spacecrafts are driven by liquid fuel which fails to produce the necessary high speed; moreover, the space craft becomes heavy with the load of fuel. If atomic fuel is devised and used, the speed of the craft will increase and its load will be lighter. However increase you may the speed, it will never reach the velocity of light even by a smaller fraction so that you can reach Mars in a month or two; for, if speed is incredibly enhanced it will not then be speed but light according to the epochmaking equation of Einstein— $E=MC^2$.

Another research work that is going on in this matter is this: Attempts are being made to flash TV pictures on the day when astronauts will land on Mars. At present, it is not possible to flash live TV from such a great

distance. In 1960, it was not possible to flash TV across the Atlantic, but now it is possible. Not only that, last July when Astronaut Neil Armstrong stepped on the moon, this step was watched on TV by many. Now when man goes to Mars, his landing may be viewed from the earth by means of a "Laser Space Communication System". Laser beams are wonderfully bright—as much as 10 billion times brighter than the sun as seen from the earth. With the help of this wonderful beam it would be possible to send TV pictures to earth.

Will a Mars expedition be successful? Less than 15 years ago a moon landing was thought impossible. But now? It is a reality. Earth-orbiting space stations planned for the United States space programme in the 1970's may provide experiences required before any Mars voyage can be knowledgeably planned.

Soviet robot craft, Luner-16 landed on the moon on 20-9-70, and from there brought some lunar earth and rocks from a depth of 350 millimeter. This was a wonderful feat as no robot craft could ever return to the earth before this. This device will undoubtedly be adopted for bringing some rocks from Mars before man will land there.

In the mean time more information about Mars comes. On detailed analysis of the 200 photographs sent by Marinos 6 and 7 from a distance of more than 34,000,000 miles from Mars it is now known that no life exists on Mars. It is completely featureless in the circular desert, Hellas, 40 degrees south of the Martian equator.

Nothing comparable exists on earth or has been found on the moon and this area is "typically Martian". The polar caps of Mars consisted of solid carbon-dioxide ice. At a southern latitude of 32 degrees, the moon temperature is found to be plus 63 degrees Fahrenheit, at 5 P.M. it drops to minus 25 degrees and at night it is minus 160 degrees.

Referring to the mysterious canals which was once considered as proof of Martian engineering and irrigation works, scientists say, "Some canals can clearly be seen on the Mariner photographs, but there is no evidence whatever for a planet-wide network of them—they simply do not exist."

The planet in which as live is too small to satisfy the adventurous spirit of man—his venture into space has made the world seem small. Like fish in a bowl, man has been confined to the home-planet, bound by earth's gravity and the vacuum of space. No more. The new generation will explore the endless frontier of space.

NASA administrator, Dr. Thomas O. Paine says, "The true goal is far more than being the first to land man on the moon.....The real goal is to develop and demonstrate the capability for inter-planetary travel. With some awe we contemplate the fact that men can walk on extra terrestrial shores.....Men working together with modern science and technology can extend the domain of terrestrial life through the solar system."

Man will not stop after the conquest of Mars. It is a first step to the conquest of the solar system. After Mars he will venture into the domains of the inner planets—Mercury, Venus, and after that in the great outer planets—Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, Neptune, Pluto etc.

The latest news about Venus is that Venus-7, a Soviet space capsule landed on Venus and sent messages from there on 26-1-71. This is the first time that photos and messages came from such a vast distance. The space capsule ran for four months continuously from the earth and reached there on the 15th December, 1970. The messages say that heat there is 900 degrees Ferenheit and atmospheric pressure is ninety times more than that of the earth. The craft was heavier than the previous ones, Venus-5 and 6, and for that perhaps, it

was not reduced to ashes. Venus is full of carbon dioxide and there is no sign of life; condition there is simply hellish. Venus, the "Queen of the Night" is a ghastly inferno beneath its universal cloud cap. Venus orbits the sun inside the orbit of the earth. Before it overtakes the earth, Venus appears as the Evening star. But an eminent scientist in spite of this report says, it would not be wise to rule out all possibility of life on Venus, despite its extremely dense and furnace-hot atmosphere. Near the poles and at great altitudes, it may be cold enough for liquid water to exist. Moreover, the Russian space probe Venera-4 discovered evidence of oxygen in the Venusian atmosphere, free oxygen is considered an almost infallible indicator of vegetable life. Much about Jupiter is still unknown. Scientists do not know whether the surface is solid, liquid or gaseous. Also unknown is the nature of Jupiter's 'Red Spot', a feature which drifts very slowly about the planet, completing an orbit three times during the past 200 years. The Pioneer instruments may provide clue to the nature and cause of the Red Spot. They may also find out the cause of Jupiter's periodic huge surges of radio noise. It is believed to be the only planet in our solar system that radiates more energy than it absorbs from the sun. Spacecraft measurements of Jupiter's magnetic field may also help answer such questions.

The discovery that Jupiter is quite warm and has precisely the atmosphere in which life is believed to have arisen on Earth may be prelude to the most significant findings of this century. Carl Sagan and Jack Leonard state the view in their book 'Planets': "Recent work on the origin of life and the environment of Jupiter suggests that it may be more favourable to life than any other planet, not excepting the Earth."

According to NASA authorities the

conquest of the inner and outer planets may be finished in the 21st century. The United States plans a 'grand tour' now of the deep space planets and for this NASA has drawn a programme of two reconnaissance flights in 1978 and 1979—"Man's first venture beyond the orbit of Mars into outer solar system".

These two unmanned space crafts will penetrate the belt of 50,000 asteroids and speed on to Jupiter, making photographs and scientific observations within 100,000 miles of the giant planet, before passing on into deep space. Each of the two Pioneer Spacecrafts will take about two years to travel the 500 million miles to Jupiter. They will spend about a week swinging around the planet.

"One goal of the mission" says NASA "is to assess hazards in deep space and to develop technology and operation experience for grand tour missions to the other planets—Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, Neptune and Pluto."

Pioneer 'F' and 'G' will be launched from Cape Kennedy, and they will spend more than six months passing through the asteroid belt which circles the sun from 180 million to 330 million miles from earth. In the asteroid belt, space craft instruments will measure and report via telemetry such things as the intensity of sunlight reflected from the asteroids and the overall questions of cosmic dust. Near Jupiter, the Pioneers will gather information on a number of mysteries surrounding the planet.

Now, space scientists are determined to go from the limits of the possible to the impossible.

So if this grand tour is successful, like Goethe we will say,

"Nur allein der Mensch
Vermag das unmögliche"

That is, man alone can do the impossible.

A PIONEER OF THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

ROBI BASU

The continuing revolution in worldwide telecommunication makes April 24 an important anniversary because on this day in 1874 Guglielmo Marconi the Italian-Irish inventor of the wireless was born. He was born in Italy, lived much of his life in England but it was the Maritime Provinces where he did some of his pioneering experiments in transatlantic communication by wireless telegraphy.

During the twentieth century, communication technology has made astounding progress. When Neil Armstrong walked on the moon in 1968, we watched him from earth. We could see what he saw and we could hear what he said. The sound and vision came down to us on electromagnetic waves through millions of miles of intervening space.

Such miracles are now taken for granted by TV-watching schoolboys. But in Marconi's day, sending an intelligent message across a building by wireless was considered to be a tremendous feat. Little was known about the properties of electromagnetic waves and the radio had not been invented. With a fanatical faith in the future of wireless communication, Marconi developed devices (relatively simple by today's standards) larger and larger in size and tested them over longer and longer distances until his wireless messages could circle round the world.

One epoch-making step was the first transatlantic communication by wireless which took place on December 12 1901. Marconi's men tapped out the letter S in Morse code—three dots—at Poldhu in Cornwall, England and Marconi received it on Signal Hill in St. John's Newfoundland.

It was a cold and windy day. As Marconi stood on Signal Hill, watching anxiously the flight of a kite which carried his precious aerial an icy rain lashed his face from time to time.

There was much at stake. A fortune had been spent in setting up the experiment. There was a fundamental doubt yet to be resolved whether the earth's curvature would prevent the waves from spanning the 2000 miles of ocean. On top of this, the weather made reception difficult. The directional aerial on the kite constantly shifted its position thus altering the strength of the signal coming down to the receiver.

But suddenly after 12.30 PM, all doubt was resolved. Through a single earphone Marconi heard the three short clicks corresponding to the letter S. The clicks kept coming proving once for all that wireless communication across the Atlantic was a feasibility.

During those magic moments, Canada moved closer to England and the process of "annihilation of distance" began its irretrievable march. Marconi achieved this great feat at the young age of 28.

Marconi's success fired the imagination of the public and government of Newfoundland but not everyone was happy. The cable companies could see the threat to their operations and tried to pooh-pooh the event. One of the companies, the Anglo-American, which held exclusive landing and working rights on telegraphy in Newfoundland, threatened legal action if Marconi did not stop operations in Newfoundland.

However, next door, the government of

Nova Scotia was very keen to host further developments. Marconi was given a piece of suitable land between Bridgeport and Glace Bay where eventually a wireless station would be built at the expense of the then National government of Canada headed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Like some other early pioneers of technology, Marconi had little formal education but an obsession with electricity at an early age. He patented his invention of the wireless in 1896 and founded his company soon after. Soon he became prosperous due to the great demand for ship-to-shore wireless from all maritime nations.

After his wireless station in Glace Bay had been built, Marconi came back in 1905 with his young bride Beatrice O'Brien, the daughter of an Irish peer. Living in very cramped conditions, he started the next phase of his transatlantic adventure i.e. laying the foundation of a reliable public service. These developments ended in triumph after many failures and an unlimited service was opened to the public in February 1908.

Within a short time, this service would become available in post offices and railway stations around the world, thus making Marconi's dream a reality. During the wireless era which lasted up to the middle of our century, soldiers, sailors, explorers and boy scouts swore by it. The heroic telegraph operator on the sinking Titanic became a symbol of this era. Guglielmo Marconi lived a full and creative life, travelling constantly in the Western hemisphere, extending his net-

works and looking after his company's business. He was honoured worldwide for his invention and shared in the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1909.

In 1960 when I lived in London, England, I used to walk past a Victorian mansion where Marconi lodged during the very first year of his stay in England. In the customary way in which the Greater London Council identifies buildings which once housed the famous, there was a plaque on a wall of the building bearing the following legend: "Guglielmo Marconi, 1874-1937. the pioneer of wireless communication lived here in 1896-1897."

Talbot Road on which this building stood is in the Bayswater District of London where a number of Italians run restaurants and coffeebars. The plaque meant little to them.

The transatlantic cable to Newfoundland which had been threatened by the advent of wireless has been operating up to last year when it was severed accidentally by a trawler. Because of its limited usefulness it has now been decided not to repair it.

Thus the eras of both cable and wireless have now passed. But the value of the pioneering work by people like Guglielmo Marconi would never be entirely written off. Everytime I pass the shortwave station at Sackville with its array of aerials spread out over acres of ground listening to the outside world, I think of Marconi flying his kite on Signal Hill in St John's.

Those three clicks have practically changed the world.



THE OPEN UNIVERSITY

V. T. PATIL

Higher education in developing countries in recent years has undergone structural and qualitative changes. A constantly changing society must have a dynamic system of education. Underdeveloped countries which have opted for economic development through planning on a large scale require a system of education that brings about a reasonable level of prosperity, welfare and security for the people. Such a functional system of education could turn out to be a harbinger of social, economic and political changes of fundamental importance. The time is opportune for educationists and governmental policy makers to conceive of an integrated approach to education. Present day education must be freed from the ivory tower mentality of the educated which has resulted in their splendid isolation from the main stream of national life and making them unable to cater to the pervasive needs of the mass of humanity. Indian higher education has remained elitist in substance and character, because only those with prescribed educational qualifications are eligible for higher education. On the other hand underdeveloped countries do not have adequate financial and human resources to cope with the enormous expansion of higher education, the result of the revolution of rising expectations and aspirations of the Indian people. The Open University scheme is expected to bridge this gap by fulfilling the needs of large sections of the 'education hungry' population.

The Open University idea owes its origin in the United Kingdom way back in 1971. The Open University concept represents a dramatically new approach to the methodology, quality

and quantity in higher education. The Open University like any other higher institution of learning is an educational body that imparts knowledge through maximum use of the mass media of communication like the television and radio. All those who enrol in such an institution do not require any formal qualification as it is meant to be open to all irrespective of caste, creed, language and community.

The idea of an Open University was first propounded by Mr. Harold Wilson in 1963 when he was leader of the opposition in Britain. The Open University has sought to impart instruction through correspondence, radio and television. Such an university will confer its own degrees through correspondence courses face to face tutorials and group seminars, television and radio broadcasting and short term courses during the summer months. The basic component of this new teaching system would be through correspondence courses. At the same time broadcasting through radio and television will stimulate and motivate the participants in this programme. The eventual success in this kind of teaching will depend upon proper coordination between the human element and the mechanical or technological element. It is of the greatest significance to continuously assess and review the value techniques, the effectiveness of the media and the quality of the course content.

The Open University scheme involves teaching of lessons through extensive correspondence material. This method will enable the learners to have a very broad basis through background reading and also by watching once or twice radio and television programmes with high educational content. Care should be taken to

see that groups of participants are in a position to view and listen to programmes other than at home possibly at community centres where they can have intensive and creative group discussions. Study centres of the Open University must be located at strategic places which are near public libraries or other institutional libraries. The timing of the programmes must be judiciously fixed, mostly in the evenings when the participants will have returned from their places of work. Additionally, the programmes could be on the air during the week ends when most of the participants would be in their homes and consequently free to listen these programmes. The structuring of the courses must be very flexible to be of use to the participants who have a very diverse background. There could be about four or six foundation or obligatory courses in natural sciences, social sciences, mathematics, arts, etc. Apart from this, the learners must be given the option to choose from a wide range of courses at the rate of atleast eight courses per year. In this manner, a successful participant will be able to acquire a degree at the end of four years.

It could be argued that in a vast underdeveloped country like India the optimum level of student enrolment for every Open University could run up to one lakh students. This figure for each Open University may be appropriate from the perspective of sound administration, maintenance of the quality of academic standards and financial adequacy. Though the major emphasis under the Open University system is on courses leading to degrees, the fact is that it could offer an array of professional or technical courses, refresher or conversion courses that could also lead to higher degrees, diplomas and certificates. The nature and content of courses will depend upon the in the pattern of demand as indicated by the learners programme.

In the context of India, the Open University

system will be able to absorb a large mix of students with limited or partial qualifications, who want to complete their education by improving their qualifications to suit their professions. The common misconception about the Open University is that it emphasises learning through television watching and radio listening. It must be borne in mind by our educational policy makers that the vast majority of our population are beyond the ken of television facilities. It becomes imperative for us to emphasise other techniques and methods of the Open University programme like radio or transistor listening, correspondence courses, face to face discussion between the teachers and participants.¹

In India efforts are now being made to establish a unique AIR University. The purpose of such a University is to train young men and women in different branches of knowledge through the communication medium. The scheme envisages the establishment of a powerful transmitter which will feature regular classes by competent teachers. To ensure student participation or involvement provision must be made for students to raise questions which could be answered in subsequent broadcasts by the teachers. The government must also provide sufficient funds to finance the purchase of cheap radio sets which could be made available to the student community.

One of the most constructive feature of the Open University concept is that it requires no formal academic requirements. This crucial aspect of the programme will prove a great boon to all those vast millions who have had no formal education. The net result of this facility is that any one who wishes to enrol as a student in the Open University will be able to do so. All those with a capacity for sustained hard work, high motivation, a modicum of intelligence and devotion to intense study over a period will be able to secure a degree.

In the case of some participants, the absorption capacity may not be initially so high as to cope with the degree programme. In all these instances the role of students counselling or guidance services assumes a high degree of relevance and significance. It shall be the task of the students counselling services, personnel to specify the preparatory courses which the participants should complete before they are in a position to enrol for the Open University's degree course. 2

In India the Open University must have the status of a national university established by an act of the Indian Parliament. It must also have an independent high powered administrative body with adequate financial powers. The Open University must be funded liberally keeping in view its multi-dimensional focus. Such an Open University must be in a position to finance the purchase of community radio sets, transistors and even television sets wherever it is feasible. Scholars of different disciplines must be invited to prepare radio and television lessons for the learners. In addition to these measures, teachers in regular or conventional universities must be invited to meet periodically with the participants at district headquarters or in places near the university through the contact programmes. Summer institutes, or workshops or orientation courses could also be organised so that there can be systematic feed-back from students in terms of their response to the assignments given by the teachers. Through such a process the Open University will become a powerful forum for imparting knowledge in a highly accessible form to the people.

India today is beset with educational problems which have assumed the proportions of a major crisis. The Open University concept appears to be a ray of hope in an otherwise dark horizon. The Open University scheme will enable the urban educated to forge a strong bond of sympathetic understanding of

the socio-economic, cultural and political problems of the rural people. The educated in the urban areas will be able to come to grips with the reality of rural problems. This will equip them to offer productive and constructive solutions to the problems of the rural population.

From the point of view of economy in expenditure for education, the Open University becomes a very attractive proposition. In an underdeveloped, poor country like India where scarce resources compete with unlimited wants, inadequate funding is a major bottleneck that will have to be overcome. By its very nature the Open University scheme will impart education to millions of Indians with lesser investment when compared with conventional universities.

In India where there is mass illiteracy only an innovative programme like the Open University can offer root and branch solutions. The magnitude of our mass illiteracy is such that it can be tackled in an effective manner only through the monumental efforts of the Open University system. In a situation where even after more than three decades of independence mass illiteracy is the order of the day, the only way out appears to be the Open University concept which can bring about a high rate of literacy in about a generation with minimum of investment in financial and human resources.

The Open University will also bring about national integration because it can reach very large sections of our diverse population through its educational programmes. It is our view that the success of the Open University programme in India must not be judged merely by the degrees or diplomas or qualification gained by the participants but by the comprehensive educational and social impact of this enterprise.

The Open University can cater to the needs of all those interested in formal qualifications, resulting in lesser pressure of students seeking

admissions to traditional or conventional universities. This will help the conventional universities to give top priority to improving the quality of education. However, it is possible to argue that the rush for admissions to the conventional universities will continue to be at a high level even after the establishment of a network of Open Universities, because the students in urban areas would still prefer to enrol in them. The only alternative for the traditional universities is to improve the quality of education by adopting a policy of highly restrictive or selective admission.

Looking to the existing conditions in India the proposition can be advanced that the Open University system is yet another way of adding further to the large pool of educated unemployed. It has been our practice to equate employment opportunities with paper educational qualification. Unless this pervasive psychology is eliminated the number of educated unemployed is bound to increase phenomenally in the future. One possible way out of such a difficulty is to vocationalise the whole content of education under the Open University system. But such a task will involve herculean efforts at all levels which in the past has not been forthcoming easily. With the result, the Open University experiment may end up in avoidable wastage of scarce human and financial resources if proper care is not taken by governmental policy makers, teachers and students.

On the whole, the Open University proposal has a definite place in educational development through broadcasting and correspondence courses in a developing country like India. As in the case of other underdeveloped countries the educational hopes and aspirations of the Indian population outstrip the supply of teaching staff and other related

facilities. The Open University is bound to become a prominent feature of the educational system in every developing country of the world. India will have to go in for a comprehensive system of Open University suitably modified to meet the unique requirements of the Indian masses. The courses, techniques, methodology and philosophy of the Open University must conform to our social, cultural, linguistic and religious diversities. We are not arguing that we should not borrow the concept of Open University from the western countries. On the other hand, we strongly feel that an Open University system based on the reality of Indian conditions will go a long way in solving the educational problems of the most populous democracy in the world.

1. Educational television has its limitations.

The T.V. medium is incapable of permitting feed-back in terms of intensive discussion between students and teachers. One way communication in effect means there is no meaningful communication. Ways and means will have to be developed to capture the totality of the audio-visual image to transmit knowledge. One important function of educational television could be that it may relieve the teacher to a certain extent rather than replacing him. Surveys have clearly shown that television has greater potentialities for reaching a vast audience outside the school and university systems, but only systematic efforts towards identifying the issues involved in such an enterprise will yield fruitful results.

2. D.V. Stafford, "University that is open to All", *Educational India*, Vol. 36, No. 1, July, 1969, pp. 31-34.

THE WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF BUDDHISTS FOSTERS' UNITY JAPAN'S LAVISH HOSPITALITY

Dr. BUDDHISTS P. KIRTHISINGHE

The Twelfth General Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists was held in October 1978, in Tokyo, and Kyoto, Japan, with inspiring success. There never has been such manifestation of goodwill and understanding among the leaders of World Buddhism, than at this conference. This may be due to the spirit of Buddhism and more due to the compassionate interest bestowed on it by the great Japanese people. The hosts extended exuberant and brotherly hospitality on their visiting fellow Buddhists.

People usually exclaim that conferences are mere social gatherings. This may be accepted as a truth even of the meetings of Buddhists now than in ancient times, when spiritual and moral values dominated in their discussions. Today materialism is spreading throughout the world due to the spread of communistic ideas. But this conference held in Japan differed widely, as it brought differing world Buddhist leaders together into bonds of goodwill and understanding as seen never before. It had illuminated their minds to realize their high spiritual goals are the same today as of the ancient times. They were enlightened to see that although their ideals were the same, but were clothed in semantics of differing cultural and folk traditions. Thus the world leaders realising these facts embraced each other in a spirit of tolerance, goodwill and brotherhood, between the Mahayanists, Varayanists and Theravadins.

There were people from all over the world, even from Communist Russia, but not Communist China, Vietnam or Cambodia,

where spirituality has vanished into materialism. Leaders from great Democracies like America, Canada, Europe, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand to Japan were present. Reminding us that the greatest periods of history were kindled by spirituality like that of Emperor Asoka of India in the 3rd Century B. C.

Miss Barbara Ward—the well known British economist and writer states that "History's first lesson is that true prestige has always been the product not so much of genuine power as of genuine excellence". Thus it may have dawned on the minds of the leaders who met in Nippon (Japan) to realize why the modern super powers as that of Russia or any other is based on military grandeur. Such powers can destroy all life on earth, while Asokan spiritual glory stands to this day as from dawn of 3rd Century history, as gold. H. G. Wells in his 'Outlines of History' calls his era as one of the greatest periods of human history. Further he is described as the noblest ruler of mankind. Today Buddhistic and democratic Japan has become the third greatest economic power and note that she is not a military power by own choice and wisdom.

People like Dr. David Hall—a great American Buddhist—and Dr. Shohei Ichemura of Japan, who have profound knowledge of all schools of Buddhism—Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan and Theravada—could further this spirit of oneness cultivated at this World Fellowship of Buddhists, as they are respectful and unbiased towards all traditions. They

could help the World Fellowship of Buddhists to foster respect of each other better by writing on these various forms of Buddhism that exist today for publication in the World Fellowship of Buddhists Review, published at the Headquarters in Bangkok, Thailand. They could with ease bring tolerance and understanding and mutual respect between all these traditions (of Buddhism). May they undertake this noble task.

Most cruel are the statements made by people like D. Susuki of Japan and Venerable Sangharakhita of Great Britain, who claim that Theravadins are selfish, while their own Mahayana creed is selfless. This is an incorrect and ambiguous statement, as the Theravadins stress individual action to purify themselves which is geared towards the masses. In the Theravada the Bodhisattva Vow after achieving Buddhahood is to help as many beings as ready to become enlightened (Bodhi or Satom) and to prepare others for it. In the Mahayana this Vow takes another interpretation. "After attaining the light of wisdom, may I take the entire lot of beings to that haven after becoming a Buddha and may I enlighten all beings and after conquering dukka (suffering) may I remove all sufferings of all".

People may interpret the Dharma any way they like, that is the reason for so many schools and sects of Buddhism. But is there any justification for a few adherents of one school to make untruthful assertions about the others. The Buddha Dharma is eternal and revealed from time to time of infinity by future Buddhas. The Buddha to be is MAITRIYA, who will preach the same eternal Dharma. May I state that it is the man who has made these divisions, but not by any Buddha.

Mahayana form of Buddhism was formulated by Nagaryana in the 2nd Century after Christ. He merely stressed and developed new ideas based on the teachings of the

Buddha. Some people claim that some forms of Mahayana Buddhism absorbed Greek thought that prevailed in north west of India at that time and it helped to develop "Amida Buddha. This form of Buddhism travelled to China and absorbed Confucianism and Taoism to form Chinese Buddhism. After all human thought is dynamic not static. This form of Buddhism was accepted in China & Japan which have helped the common faithful to follow the masters path, as folk traditions of their own culture which have been incorporated into the practices of their own lands are helpful to them.

In Europe and North America all schools and sects of Buddhism prevail side by side—Theravada, Mahayana and Tantrayana (Tibetan). Eventually there will be a synthesis suitable for people living in a scientific and technological age. Buddhism is a philosophy and a way of life, rather than a religion.

In England Mr. Christmas Humphrey, the founder President, Buddhist Society London, is trying to formulate his own brand or sect of Buddhism. It is composed of a little bit of Zen, Christian mysticism and Theosophy. He is doing it with good intentions, whether he will succeed is to be seen. Although Theravada is the oldest tradition practised in England and Europe, Mr. Humphrey has little encouraging words to say about it. He says the fact that Theravada got a foothold in England was due to the Puritan Christian traditions of his people. The prejudice of the Buddhist Society officials to Theravada tradition in England is heightened by its General Secretary Mr. Arthur Burton's stubborn statement that currently only Zen and Tibetan forms appear to flourish in England, in their partly similar ways. To any student of Buddhism, Zen and Theravada is more similar than Actualistic Vayrayana. In fact all three forms are spreading in the West. After all the

public should be allowed freedom to choose any one of the schools that would satisfy their personal spiritual needs, rather than coerce them into any one of them. In short the Buddhist Society Officials should be true EKAYANIST.

The Jodo-Shinsu school of Buddhism as practised in the U.S.A, under the leadership of Bishop Takashi Tsuyi of the Buddhist churches of America, have adopted some forms of Theravadin practices that were never used in Japan, such as reciting passages from

the Dharmapada and the Eightfold noble path, but yet retain the basic features of the Jodo-Shinsu traditions.

As shown all traditions of Buddhism are built on the needs of different cultures, but all have basic teachings of the Buddha incorporated into them. There are no superior or inferior schools of Buddhism, as they are all following the path laid by the Buddha. May the spirit of EYAYANA (One path) prevail under the noble guidance of the World Fellowship of Buddhists.

HEMOSORPTION: A NEW METHOD OF TREATMENT

V. NEGOVSKY

A promising trend of medicine is being born before our eyes. A new method of treatment based on the sorption (absorption) of toxic substances from the blood and other biological liquids of the organism has been worked out and introduced in clinical practice. For the series of investigations in this field Yu. M. Lopukhin, I. V. Surkov, M.N. Molodentkov, O. A. Mashkov, B.D. Komarov, Ye. A. Luzhnikov, R. I. Utyamyshev, N. V. Khapilov Yu. A. Leikin and A.V. Ryabov have been put forward as candidates for a USSR State Prize.

A number of lives have been saved and the serious conditions of hundreds of patients have been alleviated by means of hemosorption, as the new method of treatment is called.

It will be easier to explain the essence of the method if one determines the disease as a disorder of the stability of the inner medium of the organism. Its main filters—the kidneys and the liver are affected, sometimes different kinds of poisoning takes place and then harmful substances find their way into the blood threatening a patient with death. In order to prevent this it is necessary to purify the blood.

The elaboration of the sorption method started in 1969. However, its foundations had been laid much earlier. It all began in 1785 when the Russian scientist T. Lovits was studying the properties of coal, and saw that it discoloured tinted water absorbing the dye. The researcher hardly thought at the time that

the property of coal discovered by him would be the basis of the invention of the gas-mask (made in 1915 by N. Zelinsky, a remarkable chemist) and of the present method of hemosorption.

The technique of hemosorption resembles hemodialysis, the method of artificial purification of blood during renal insufficiency. However the resemblance is only formal. An artificial kidney removes from the blood only low molecular substances, while sorption methods free blood of any elements at all, irrespective of their molecular mass, actually performing the part of an artificial liver.

Several stages of the work performed can be singled out. The most important of them is the creation of sorbents which absorb toxic substances without destroying blood cells and removing products necessary for the organism. First, activated carbon was tested: different methods of its processing were tried, granules of different shapes and sizes were made and the best coating for them searched for. Grades of carbon which satisfy strict medico-biological requirements have already been found. Ion-exchange resins which possess a more selective ability than carbons are also used as sorbents. In recent years new grades of sorbents have been worked out not only in Moscow, but also in a number of other scientific centres of our country, particularly in Kiev.

Special apparatus had to be constructed for clinical hemosorption. The task was made more difficult by the fact that the instruments had to be simple in use and particularly during sterilization. The parts and columns with sorbents had to be designed in such a way that it would be easy to replace them. The completed apparatus makes it possible to conduct hemosorption in urgent cases in a patient's home or a moving ambulance. An automatic controlling device has been also constructed for regulating the sorption of the lymph, as

well as a system for purifying blood plasma which makes it possible to use sorbents that are even aggressive to the elements of the blood. In a word, the designers were faced with some rather difficult problems, particularly if one takes into account that there has been no experience of building such an apparatus in any country of the world. However, most of these tasks have now been solved.

The introduction of the method of hemosorption into clinical practice required the experimental use and improvement of all the elements of the method over several years. Only when complete safety had been established did clinical investigations begin. Over a thousand hemosorptions have been performed already. All the main suppositions have been confirmed: the timely connection with the artificial liver has proved useful in the treatment of very different diseases.

Good results have been obtained during the treatment of formerly mortal poisoning with barbiturates, elenium, chlorophos and other toxic compounds. The mortality of adults has been reduced by 70-80 per cent, while child mortality in these cases actually went down to nil. The results of the complex treatment of mechanical jaundice are also very gratifying: hemosorption reduces the phenomena of self-poisoning and the condition of the patients improves. This has made it possible to perform operations with greater confidence of a favourable outcome. Hemosorption has helped to restore the capacity for work in patients suffering from some other diseases of the liver. In some cases it was necessary to apply hemosorption from three to six times. This has shown the expediency of setting up special rooms, or hemosorption centres, like the rooms for artificial kidneys, so that in cases of serious affection of the liver it is possible to purify the blood regularly and thus support the patient's life.

Much attention is paid in our country to the combat of alcoholism and the treatment of diseases connected with it. In 23 cases of delirium tremens the very first session of hemosorption removed the symptoms of acute alcoholic poisoning.

Accidentally encountering poisoning in a schizophrenia patient, scientists found that his mental condition improved after hemosorption.

The use of sorptional methods for the treatment of skin and allergic diseases is of great interest. The results of the treatment of disorders in the activity of the immunological system are also hopeful. This is very important in connection with the wide spreading of these diseases in recent decades and the difficulty of their treatment. There are some prospects of using hemosorption in revivification and some other fields of medicine.

THE ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF SCIENCE

UJJAL KUMAR DUTTA

New thoughts of science on the basis of vivid practical realistic evidences of the everyday common fundamental eternal facts and figures of the environment. This proves the indispensable importance of process knowledge and consciousness both individuals and the Supreme, equally with other energies functioning scientifically all together jointly and severally. This would placed before the Indian Science Congress Session in the month of February, 1980.

A Prelude—I am going to place before you a very important topic for consideration. This covers from the prime origin of the creation all through its systems upto the end, also beyond, showing the relations with the source or Greater if any. Its inevitable functions in

every action reaction change, of the entire universal establishment, controlling the birth activity death of matter mind life, every particle electron, proton and so on, make it indispensable in the international, national, political, social, economic and every field of life.

First of all we must know for certain what science is, and then try to trace its origin and functions. It is desirable to approach from all possible directions to make it definite.

Comments On Science—According to Dictionary, it is the knowledge systematized. The Indian scholars say, it is the knowledge specialised or Bishesh Jnana or Vijnana; the ordinary knowledge gives only the superficial ideas and evidences.

Own Conclusion—To me science is the practical realistic truths of the universal mechanism that provide the vivid lawful existence and continuous evolutionary functional journey towards fulfilment. Without it the systematic methodical well designed procedures would have been turned into chaotic mockery. It is the knowledge of the Supreme source employed in the smooth running of the creation to completeness. Whatever is there and happens are true, comes under the jurisdiction of science, whether good or bad, scheduled or not.

Usual Truth—Let us analyse the truth a bit ; it is the actual fact that genuinely happened, the proper reality which is one, can not be two so obviously unchangeable constant but the creation is always changing, just the opposite. So the Indian philosophers say, it is not the truth but false, illusive, relative etc.

Vordily Truth—I think from the creation point of view, change is the fundamental truth of it, science is the process, responsible to show and tell exactly how, why, wherefrom and whereto. The change and science are inseparable from each other. Actually science is everything, administering the whole affair in a fixed pattern by permanent systems of law process on the same steady direction and track to serve one purpose, to accomplish single objective, the fulfilment, to achieve a restful completeness. The science itself is constant and to me it is the prime truth. It gives the laws of constancy in every field, in variety of ways : for example, one of these says—'The volume remains constant under the same pressure and temperature'. The mathematical science practically flourished on its basis and also starts with the numerical identity of number one.

Permanent Truth—The eternal absolute truth is the very source, a perpetual combination of three qualities of Omniscient Omnipotent Omnipresent, making a Trinity of

completeness, equivalent to one, the Advaita. The permanent complete knowledge of science forms the unchangeable constant, the origin of science to build up this fathomless universe. The full science neither increases nor decreases nor decays inspite of using unaccountable number of times. It is also not affected in any way by the slight changes that occurred no doubt in the omnipotent part to supply the energies to nourish the small portion of the Omnipresent constitution of the Trinity, the very universal consciousness to blossom upto the highest Supremacy of all knowing and slide down again to the lowest simplicity of knowing nothing, a complete blankness, the mere conscious existence. This is going on in cyclic orders.

An Ancient Version—I am very much tempted to quote here a magnificent sloka from the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad where the Rishi says about the fulness of the Creator and creation in two lines only :—

Om Purnamadaha Purnamidam Purnat Purnamudachyatey

Purnamadaya Purnashya Purnameba Abashishthatey.

The Brahman is Supreme and complete in every respect, the creation is also complete on fulfilment of its mission ; if the aesthetic external universal completeness had not happened, still the original supreme completeness of Brahman remains exactly the same eternally.

This clearly indicates that the whole thing is one complete Advaita. The completeness is never hampered whether the Creator alone by Himself or together with the creation which is nothing but a development out of Him. So the ratio and sum total always remains the same and make complete one, the *Paripurnam*.

Misjudgement—Hardly many clearly realise that this universe is not of human make, nor coming into its folds any discretionary or lasting affairs. Everything within it is

transient, a continuous developments of changes by science, entrusted to perform scientific duties; that they are themselves fully scientifically mechanised energies, assigned to fulfil a task according to the Designer's rules and arrangements, which are not obligatory but fully compulsory and there is nothing else to do but to obey. It is appropriate to conceive the entire creation as a single unit, functioning as one administrative body, under the only sovereign authority, the sole creator Preserver-Preceptor. His knowledge power process planning implementation control from the start to finish, make a complete whole.

Popularity—Science is quite popular these days, even the children know about it from the school, the young and old are used to it, at least with a few things of science, and the scientists themselves are quite proud of it, due to the successful planetary expeditions. Actually science directs the universal fulfilment in harmonious discipline. Its proper culture will reveal the importance and value in human society for peaceful prosperity to attain divinity that was once achieved in ancient India.

Conditioned Reflexes—A well balanced living is essential for all but not possible unless mankind knows scientifically, their source goal and all about the intermediate functions, controlled by the same science of creation. A life becomes fully conditioned with a mode of living; difficult to give up, even for a betterment, unless the science is known. Repeated action, make the impressions deeper, and stronger on the individual consciousness and responds in all suitable circumstances, according to the law of science that says 'every action has its equal and opposite reaction.'

Dogmatic Religion—Yet religions and philosophies are persistently enjoying the dictatorial authority, to deal with and explain the Creator creation matter mind soul life living etc. with the help of logical inferences, comparative

deductions, traditional narrations, reasonable comprehensions, even imaginary conclusions, through linguistic manipulations of vocabularies, grammar phonetics philology etc., according to suitability. Moreover, sentiments blind faiths, practices of rituals and long imposed unfair damaging customs, on the society, have crippled and gripped the majority mind. They discard the science as anti-God man made actions and openly accuse that the present state of world affairs are the products of science.

Rival Science—Scientists also declared crusade against religions, propagating non-existence of God: accuse them of exploiting masses, their opium effects on the society. Life term imprisonment with superstitions: erroneous illusive ideas about soul and its continuous journey through life after life and so on. They do not want to accept anything not proved in their laboratory, inspite of vividly functioning in the nature, perceived easily through the senses. So science is only reputed for its laboratory experiments, monopolising on the material world, rewarded sometimes with big encouraging and interesting discoveries. It is a great pity, not to realise, who does the experiments and how; also who are responsible for accepting those. They are none but the consciousness with variable knowledge and their capabilities to apply. The refusal to admit their natural existence power activities abilities are simply self denial suicidal attitude.

Science—Religion Synthesis—Recently an attempt to make a synthesis of religion and science is very popular but no substantial effects are possible or expected unless they admit and rectify their own faults. The simple prime factors are the Creator or source, creation the changes and science the processes. The religions have discarded the law process, the other one ignores the source, the existence of Supreme and individual souls. Both have

left out the most vital factors, the so called knowables and knowers. If they mend their own lapses, the differences will be eliminated automatically and science would be the religion of the universe or the religion of the universe would be science.

Pre Vision—I hope my arduous endeavour may help to bring about a durable peace prosperity happiness in the human society. I apologise for my venture to tell about it, at this incomplete stage of my research, considering the urgency of acquainting more able persons with this work, who may use it suitably for human betterment. It is a difficult lengthy subject and due to my short limitations I shall only present briefly my observations and important findings, with a little introduction and references to understand better from the scientific point of view. If I am only able to make my convictions clear enough about the origin, the rest will make their own ways.

Divine Science—Now-a-days everything must be explained scientifically. It is the all time permanent religion of the universe, for the natural benefit of everybody until fulfilment and should be well recognised acceptable facts, in this scientific era, all over the world. And the particular wonderful mechanism of producing releasing and employing the energies of matter and consciousness into activities jointly and severally, in harmonious evolutionary co-ordinated co-operations, to continue on their purposeful progressive development and fulfillments, are the works of the Divine Science, from the start to finish, functioning all over the universal creation without stop. This is the only correct scheduled method of the Supreme Source for the all round welfare of all. Every initial steps and stages are to be done properly, so that the next procedures do not deviate, but rather follow perfectly according to the pre-planned design to reach the goal. As a matter of fact, there are the outer sys-

tems of superficial external science, easily noticeable but the internal perceptions of the secret science, are only gradually revealed, as one is able to make advances. To me the word 'Divine' means a state of completeness, the things outside or pre and post creational stages i. e. the existence of the source and goal.

Divine Science Applied—The matter and consciousness together forming life is naturally must be nourished by the material energies according to the divine process, for the perfect growth of the consciousness to reach the goal of completeness. The human life is the last stage, eligible to know the technique of the divine science to attain the highest divinity but not knowing the indispensable inevitable and unavoidable role of it, make lapses go differently out of track to suffer, inspite of having all the potentialities to have a most enjoyable journey.

The Origin Puzzle—It is no problem to find out science and their functions. Any book of science will provide a lot, even keen diligent observers will find a great deal from the environment; but what about the origin? Naturally it dates back to the beginning of the creation, leaves us to a speculative and imaginary conclusions, unless a pure scientific approach is made which gives a solid link with the past present and future.

Ancient Version—Let us see what is said about it by the ancient Rishis of India, who claim to have solved this during the period of Brahma Sadhana. Their documents show thorough realisations of the Divine Science of creation including life and living. Their scripture is called 'VEDA' or 'Jnana' and means knowledge which is obviously in complete form. Science means Vijnana or the realisation of the detailed finer inner and deeper aspects of the whole creation. All these were included in the general study of the Brahma Sadhana, as full curriculum of the

education system. The proofs of these are still lying scattered in the Vedanta and Upanishads. The Rishi of the Swetaswatara Upanishad proclaimed the knowable existence of the source and invited the whole world to know about it. He said—

*Srinyantu Vishve Amritasya Putra Ah Eh
Dhamani Divyani Tashthu*

*Vedaham Etam Purusham Mahantam Aditya
Varnam Tamashah Parashtet*

*Tameba Veditwa Ti Mritumeti Nanyaha Panthah
Vidyateh Hayanaya.*

Oh please lend me your ears and listen carefully, the children of the immortal Soul, whosoever live in this universe, mankind the dweller's on earth, the Devatas (Gods) of the heaven, the Angels and others in the celestial region, I have the information of the knowable Self-manifested bright luminous Supreme Soul, existing beyond the darkness of ignorance

The aspirant devotee can only overcome and conquer death by fully realising Him alone. Salvation is not possible by any other means.

The Rishi of the Taittiriya Upanishad said :—

*Yato Ba Imani Bhutani Jdyantey Yena Jatani
Jibanti Yat Prayanta Bhishambishanti Tadbijina-
shashya Tad Brahman.*

The one from whom all these energies are born (emerge) in stages, and by whom afterwards nourished to exist in active state and towards whom at the end of total transformation those proceed and finally merge, endeavour to know Him scientifically; He is the Brahman, the Supreme Soul.

Creator The Source—Those, not only indicate the parts played by the source in effecting making maintenance and fulfilment of the energies supplied by changes but also conveys knowledge of much more deeper inner and finer aspects of the source; its all powerful existence, inventor of wonderful plans technique of evolutionary procedures, practical realistic systems, the unique patterns,

the cyclic orders and a few other points of importance, above all, about the complete consciousness of science. A process is essential to make something, which must have the knowledge behind it, which again calls for a consciousness, without which there is no possibility of holding and using knowledge, its only quality or property. The results show the standard of knowledge wisdom quality ability of the conscious power.

Dark Age—Those days are gone, the original Veda is lost long ago, perhaps soon after the period of Ramayana. The one we have at present, is a recovered version written by Mahamuni Vyas and divided into four parts, at the time he had written Puranas, Mahabharata, Bhagabat etc. Thus India entered into the dark age of symbolism, a definite degradation from the positive realism to a negative idealism.

Veda In Dispute—Many Indian scholars of that time did not accept that Veda, expressing the doubts about its genuineness. Notable persons like Buddha, Manabir etc. rejected it outright. Since then two distinct schools of thoughts flourished side by side in India, one supporting and the other discarding the present Veda written by Vyas Deva.

Medieval Deforms—Soon, the effects of practicing symbolic religion became widespread and turned the already diseased nation into an epidemic form. Gradually suspicion arose about the Creator, the origin of creation, whether two or one and so on. Various conclusions arrived at by eminent scholars like Shankaracharya in his Advaitabad; Ramanuja's Vishistadvaitabad, Kapil's Shamyabad etc., are due to the omissions of the practical realistic scientific law process systems. The pattern of life have become illogical false hypocritical. The people have lost the basic power to realise the simple truths of science. All enthusiasm to search for the truth and integrity to support and

stand for the truth have dwindled down. Falsehood has crept into the very character of the nation, resulting in the widespread corruptions in every field of life.

Modern Views—In this age of science, a few eminent scientists have also expressed their own views, as regards the origin and developments of the universe. Their Quantum Theory, Random Theory and a few more are quite popular. Many are in opinion that matter is the origin of creation and that the consciousness or life developed or evolved out of it. Of course, this does not support their statement of, the presence of intelligence in the creation, which is definitely not seen in the characters of matters. It must be realised thoroughly, that knowledge intelligence wisdom judgement love sympathy etc., belong to consciousness which is something else.

Matter & Consciousness—It is true that the properties of the material energies are alone responsible for an on the spot action reaction change but those are unable to guide themselves to a planned purposeful objective, due to their own changeable character and inability to hold knowledge i. e. have no perceptive receptive power, ruling out the assimilation and application capacity which are the special qualities and abilities of consciousness only.

Neo-Light—None of the Science-Philosophic-Religion theories are quite satisfactory from the practical realistic point of views; so a fresh approach has been made, following natural systematic path easily available to everybody all the time.

Automation—The universe is a self explanatory organisation, that shows its scientific existence and processes, in all actions movements and changes every moment in all circumstances. Full evidential particulars of their characteristics methods designs plan purpose procedures systems goal are clearly obtainable without distortion prejudice and

discrimination. Those are equally open to all, may be partial and superficial in some cases but the deeper inner finer aspects are fully exposed to diligent observers and sincere enquirers.

Origin Of Science—Actually science is the systematic acquiring of accurate knowledge of the practical realistic processes of gradual methodical changes, not just now or for the time being but every moment from the very beginning to the end of the whole affair. A change always takes place through a process by the knowledge of a consciousness, the only energy that can hold the know how, as its natural quality and property. These factors are inseparable interconnected interdependent and of highest importance. One must remember that change process property knowledge consciousness must be present directly or indirectly in variable proportions and reciprocally correlated in every action reaction, also lawfully bound with each other.

Technique Of Origin—A state of stabilised completeness is the place of origin where the energies remain in potential neutral form. At first, when the energies are released or emerge, get separated to act on each other by actual give and take of properties, moulded up into various formations by interchange addition subtraction multiplication division or any other systems, unless neutralised or absorbed by suitable energies. The flexible elastic nature, give ample opportunity of many variations but fundamentally keep up precisely the main evolutionary structural pattern as scheduled by their strict law abiding properties.

Inner Science—From the deep scientific point of view, it is full account of legitimate give and take of energy properties, when come in close contact with each other, the fundamental factors of alterations, to serve the divine purpose of the Supreme Absolute, whether matter or consciousness or both as

life.

Essential Issues—Changeable developments continuously create a past present events and future possibilities, with the involvement of time and space, until the change at the end of the cycle ceases, on entering into completeness, the calm neutral feature of restfulness, wherefrom it starts journey. The past is only a by-gone incidence, leaves no trace of its existence buried in the sequence of changes, will never come back in reality, except in the memory through experiences. So the present is the most vivid continuous practical realistic perceptable progressive development of the past, leading to correct predictable future, if only done scientifically. It is a pre-planned scientific scheme from start to finish, will tell everything properly of the very distant past and the future, also the beginning and end.

An Ancient Version—Let us see again what the Rishis of the Brihadaranyaka and Chhandyogya Upanishad said about the origin of the creation. They say: *Idam Ba Agrey Naiba Kinchit Ashit Sadebah Saumyeh Dam Agrah Ashit Ekamebadvitiyam Saba Esha Mahan Aja Atma Ajaro Amaro Amrita Abhaya Tad Idam Sarbam Srijat.*

At first there was nothing of this creation in existence. Before the universal creation process starts making changes, none but one without the second, the Supreme Divine Brahman was present. He is eternally Self-existent (not come or born of anything) the highest Paramount Soul. He is non-decaying immortal perpetual self-confident fearless. He has created all that are obtainable in this universe, everything that are functioning in this creation.

There are many other alike slokas in various Upanishads which definitely indicate the scientific attainments of those days about the Creator, the origin of creation.

Personal Findings—I have tried to analyse the data obtained from day to day existence for fulfilment by the everyday science of nature without schooling as noticed in all other living beings. This definitely happens on the strength of natural scientific realisations provided in their evolutionary systems of both knowers and knowables, their natural attraction to each other, mainly of knowers. This must be the most easy and perfect way of right conceptions for which every life is well equipped, free to use and develop scientifically. The methods or give and take co-operation, co-ordination and harmony are always ready to work in a correct systematic manner. The sense organs are meant to make the consciousness most consciously impressed with the happenings of the environment i. e. silent realisations of the entire affairs of changes.

Knowables & Knowers—Here two factors are most important, must be clearly understood. One is the performer or knowables which are strictly speaking the material energies that can act only without knowing anything about themselves or others i. e. their action reaction change. The other one is the knower or the observer or the consciousness (individual) who knows all and also acts as performer, entirely on the directive administrative fashion on the strength of knowledge or know-how within self. Neither the consciousness can act as matter by committing energy properties in vibrations like heat light sound etc., nor can the matters act as director administrator like consciousness. Both are quite distinct energies to perform their respective duties to play different roles. There must be matters to help the consciousness to be conscious of everything, to attain full divinity by knowing their science only.

The knowables are the energies from the source in different vibrational wavelengths, their most finest state of existence, on the way

to form matters by various permutations combinations. They condense gradually to electron proton neutron etc. to atoms molecules compounds through the intermediaries of gaseous liquid and solid states, the maximum gross issue.

The energy as knowers emerge out of the universal consciousness to be conscious of the environment. It has the quality and ability to take impressions of the activities of the knowables, in the form of finest vibrations, through the sense organs. Those are nicely accumulated in continuous serial orders, to be projected on the conscious mind of the knowers like picture albums. Those function as knowledge to develop logical senses judgement intelligence wisdom and so on.

Objects—The main features of science are to teach how to use the material energies of the environments, to the best advantage of the simultaneous progressive developments of the body mind and soul. This can never be done unless the right wisdom is developed for the intake of correct impulses from the outside world and giving out the proper directions from within in pure scientific manner, to guide daily living which is the most vital factor of life. There are maximum and minimum threshold points, along the schedule scientific path to carry on proper life; anything below and or above becomes chaotic injurious and full of sufferings.

Wisdom—All the science gathered through the various sense organs, help to build up the highest faculty of combined scientific senses, forming the wisdom of life, particularly in human systems, which turn to be divine in nature by realising clearly that correct scheduled track from its very source to the goal, the place of full divinity.

Life is Realisation—Non-human lives, inspite of their limited potentialities of body mind and soul, have the tremendous power to perceive the finest vibrations of the energy

impulses, much quicker and from far greater distances than human beings. They realise the action/reaction change by more efficient instinct, due to their fine sensitiveness and constant direct contacts and easy realisations through the sense organs, without any vocabulary or via media. Those organs become natural finest barometers thermometers speedometers voltameters and all other meters. Their tremendous intuition power, that enable them to judge the characters of others, fore see death mishaps natural calamities like cyclone earthquake etc., are noteworthy. Their special exceptional efficiency of certain organs, even sincerity of mind, as shown in loyalty faithfulness love etc., are well known. These are all consequences of action reaction of energies on the consciousness and supply the important guiding factors to pursue for a complete knowledge of science of creation and creator in all the deepest inner aspects.

Creator's Creator—Many scientists think of the possibilities of Creator's Creator in existence like a chain system, but this is not tenable. According to the law of knowledge-process, the start ensues from a condition of complete know-how of science, in a clear systematic scientific manner and the end comes also at the conclusion of the creation process, on reaching the objective with the completion of knowledge. This also can not be more than one. Thus one completeness is enough for the making maintenance and fulfilment of creation. So, the origin and the end are one and the same entity of complete state of knowledge; there is nothing before and after. The Rishis of the Upanishads also confirm this, as mentioned earlier. All are no doubt parts of a bigger existence, finally of an one complete whole, the highest in power knowledge intelligence wisdom judgement who supplies everything required.

Knowledge-Process—The knowledge and process are reciprocal and part and parcel of

each other. A knowledge gives rise to a process, which in turn supplies the same theory and practical knowledge of execution. The very first performance is not possible without the possession of knowledge before hand. A practical demonstration also definitely tells about the precognitioned source with ability to perform or make arrangements for each step and stage to function also with any speciality, involving past present future time space direction etc. Primarily the energy properties and how those can be harnessed to be employed scientifically for the fitting survival and fulfilment of life are most essential for all in daily living. This actually goes on as the natural schooling method of the environment but has been greatly ignored by the human being at present.

Knowledge-Process Relation—In this regard we can easily enumerate several laws. As for example—That the same process of science applied, will directly give the same result provided the source or the ingredients are constant. This is what happening with the Creator-creation. If anything is altered to the slightest extent within it, the consequences are also changed proportionately. This is happening with the human society. Right products can never be obtained by wrong methods and or ingredients. So, for a different result, the methods and or ingredient should also be changed.

Potential—Kinetic—A process is only an expression in kinetic form of the knowledge in potential possession. Both knowledge and process are energies of highest order, always remain amalgamated with each other like an inseparable compound. Knowledge is the finest and greatest of all energies possessed by a consciousness and the process is its external application. So the existence of the Supreme Source together with the knowledge of science is the highest of finest and the prime energy of all, without which nothing would have come

out in this wonderful systematic fruitful order.

Trifurcate Supreme Soul—So the presence of the Supreme Soul, an union of Omniscient Omnipotent Omnipresent entity is an absolute scientific certainty. He has taken up the direct method of teaching, both theory and practice together, as He has created the individual consciousness as knowers and the material energies as knowables. He is also showing an indispensable combined practical unit of knowledge-process which also confirms solidly His existence as the Sovereign Creator—Preserver—Preceptor. The plans-process of science originated from His knowledge (wisdom), the energies from His power of action, which carry on changing in His particular design for the fulfilment of consciousness to the highest divinity. All are emerging from the pure divine constitution to attain divinity, within the highest divine Self (Soul) by Him of Him for Him. He exists eternally with His complete knowledge of science unchanged or increased or undiminished undecaying, inspite of using infinite number of times.

Effects Of Ne-Science—An existing knowledge supposed to remain unchanged no matter whether used or not, yet cases of getting rusty and ultimate complete elimination are on the increase in this world of unscientific living. The function of the memory is to recall past impressions whenever required or wanted but there are ample instances of failure and complete forgetfulness, perhaps due to the lack of proper nourishments, leading to all other defects of body mind and soul.

Conditioned Reflexes—Surely the consciousness must be stable in retaining all the sciences gathered to keep the integrity in order to progress for its attainment of divinity. This is proved by the facts, that any impression once deeply enrooted in the consciousness can not be removed or altered easily. It may carry on through life after for a total expulsion o

change over for betterment ; so the impressions must be carefully taken in at first.

Character Of Matter—Whereas alterations take place in the material energies, even a complete change in the constitution happens rather easily and quickly but nothing extincts ; the sum total always remains the same and the law of conservation of energy is obtained.

New Laws—It may be possible to deduce a few new laws by only adding the three words, purpose knowledge and process, to the already existing law of science which says that—'The work done, is equal to the energy used in a specific time'. Here the word 'energy' should include those three words also, as they are always employed in the actual reality in daily practice. So it will speak clearly that 'A change is always equal to the work done in a specific time, adopting a process, directly proportional to the knowledge, relatively to the purpose of reaching the goal.' If the original law is taken into account in toto, the result may vary in practice according to process, the other two remaining constant.

Several corollaries may also be enumerated as follows :—

- (1) that everything else remaining the same, the quality of work is variable direct and proportionate to the performance proficiency ;
- (2) that the learning of a method (from a performance or otherwise) is directly proportional to the assimilation capacity. This indicates the standard of the person. And so on.

Inherent Quality—It is definite that the working ability of the consciousness and matter depend on the pre-existing quality or property within those. In case of matter, the energies like heat light sound etc., and in case of consciousness, it is the knowledge or know-how of the material energy properties i. e. their vibration variations and effects on the consciousness and matters. The secret of science is that the matters show their characters and the

consciousness knows about those how to use and control to the best advantage of self enlightenment, that depends on the scientific wisdom and judgement.

Important Phases—Here a few things should also be clearly and thoroughly realised. First of all the prime source, the complete whole of powers knowledge energy execution) secondly the plans and designs for the systematic evolutionary methods of progress controlled by the laws of action reaction of properties ; thirdly, the production and release of energies for activities and fourthly, until returns to the source again on fulfilment of purpose and completion of the scheme. All the energies and their by-products are for the scientific welfare of all the energies concerned and their smooth accomplishments of respective missions. A change means restlessness, activities, turmoil, varies according to the gravity of the situation, a condition of conversion, a state of operational work for a particular purpose ; otherwise the energies remain in a neutral restful quiet potential existence.

Education—It is exactly the same, as the Supreme Father Himself giving lessons to His sons and daughters, about their duties, how to live and progress for completeness and unite with Him. He values and stresses most on the practical, side, the prime factor of accomplishment in the creation and to gather full correct informations in detail including the origin. The creation is a practical realistic existence of changes, no place for theory, which is only derived out of it to put into practice in life and that should be exactly as fixed by Him ; our duties are to follow His scientific arrangements for which everything is provided.

Natural Evolutionary Salvation—One can easily realise how the sons and daughters emerge from the ocean of consciousness, like evaporated particles of vapours from the ocean

of water and merge into it on completion of changes to drop as rains; in the other case on completion of the academic course of science. The detail bits of their respective nourishments, scientific uses for the advanced developments of the body mind and soul, the path to proceed to the goal are fully laid down.

Monodrama Show-House—It can be described as an enormous showhouse managed by one person only, where a wonderful mono-drama is being performed by Him alone. He is the Supreme Absolute, Sole proprietor Producer Director Administrator Scenario Writer; the rest. He has arranged accordingly, as actors actresses audiences spectators stage scenes screens and everything else from His own divided energies. The individual souls emerge as bits of conscious sparks out of His All-pervading universal consciousness, fully to enjoy the performances of the material entertainers through their sense organs as they come in contact in daily living and become fully enlivened and trained by those, how to behave in the environment for progress. The various energies playing the parts are also emerged out of His Omnipotent power meant to play their set roles according to the properties allotted to them and manoeuvred by the principles of action reaction change the science of automation to fulfil the plans prescribed by His Omniscient wisdom following the scenario visualised by Him.

Completeness—The individual souls are to enlighten themselves by learning the divine science of those energies, at first in their close proximity and gradually of the whole creation to united with the Supreme Absolute again. Failing to achieve this indicates going against the natural course resulting in inevitable sufferings.

Our Lapses—Actually proper importance is not given at all to the process of changes, neither the knowables and knowers, nor the

origin; so the real science which comprises the whole thing of energies jointly and severally is entirely misunderstood. All of us are accustomed to see the results of changes and mostly do not bother about how why wherefrom whereto? We are practically submerged in the science of unschedules, as we always encroach on other's schedule science, not meant for us, which is sheer ignorance.

Key Notes—In order to achieve something definitely, apart from mere knowing the process, its proper execution is also most essential, otherwise slight lapses would take to entirely wrong thing and place.

Natural Sequences—Everything is happening in the nature openly by the scientific systems of the nature with the supplies from the nature according to the pattern of the nature for the progress of the nature to the fulfilment of the nature, ultimately merging in the nature, on proper union with the source of the nature, forming its Trinity or Trimurti, the single constitution again. This evolutionary process is revolving round and round forming an automatic autonomous self developing administering organisation repeating the methods in long and short intervals as the case requires in cyclic orders. The most populars are the 'day and night', Seasonal rotations, 'Zodiac and solar revolutions', 'evaporation of water', oxygen, carbon dioxide, nitrogen cycles, 'reproductive chain systems' and so on.

The Role Of Creator—All these scientific methods bringing the continuous systematic evolutionary changes as schedules are the results of concrete planning supply of appropriate energies in right quality and quantity for the proper action reaction through a wonderfully designed pattern. This can not be done by anything or anybody within the changeableness. It must be completely free and outside the changes to think of the scheme beforehand and then put those ingredients in

the practical reality for work and Himself to supervise its successful implementations. So this is a performance of an one single producer director administrator from outside the show who is in possession of all the powers needed.

Conclusion—I hope the scientists will now show special interest in the context of my findings to solve the apparent mysterious relations of matter and consciousness forming life, the origin of creation and the Creator of the universe. Science of the material energies has advanced to a great extent and is fully capable of dealing with the consciousness also, as both are the constituent parts. It is the process of growth and progress of life but has been very much neglected as such in a combined way or fashion. The consciousness is wholly dependent on matter for its fulfilment and both are the part and parcel of the one and the same divine science.

This 67th session of the Indian Science Congress has a special significance. The focal theme is 'The energy strategy for India'. From the strict scientific point of view, the whole universe is composed of energies, both matter and consciousness; their activities and transformations constitute the maintenance and fulfilment of both. So, I would like to emphasize on the importance of the consciousness also, the prime energy without which everything is useless. I do not know the reason why the most essential prime factors both consciousness and knowledge have been excluded from the field of science. They are responsible for guiding the state of living conditions for enlightenment and emancipation of life. The meaning of the word 'Science' is knowledge systematized or specia-

lised, so the very meaning has also been disregarded. It would be simply disastrous for the society to use science, ignoring its divine character, the main factor for the welfare of mankind.

Dr. A. K. Saha in his presidential address would perhaps mention the word 'Ecology' but the Indian Science Congress Association has not opened a section yet to encourage research works for realising the science in complete form, as the divine knowledge of the Source. It is a fairly recent subject trying to bring harmony in the life of people by harnessing the utility value of the natural science of the environment for the use of human progress. The entire universe is living scientifically and perhaps mankind the highest living being on this earth breaking the discipline.

A Benediction—Lastly I would like to mention another sloka from the famous Svetasswatara Upanishad which also indicates the origin. The Rishi says in three wonderful lines as follows:—

Om Ya Ecko Abarna Bahudha Shakti
Yogat Barnan Onekan Nihitartho Dadhati
Bichaiti Chantey Adou Sah Debaha Sano
Budhya Subhaya Samyuaaktu.

The one who is single and colourless, who knowing the requirements of His subjects and dependants, provides all the requisite articles by means of various transformations of energies to meet their needful indispensable demands; within whom the whole universe is spread out from the beginning to the end. He is the brilliantly illumined Supreme Creator, may He give us the wise intelligence.

OM SHANTI

POLITICAL SECRET SOCIETIES AND A GLIMPSE OF THEIR METHODS

NIRMAL CHANDRA MAITRA

Technically non-violent activity, but calculated to produce and organise violence on a wide scale, would include :

I. Indoctrination. II. Procurement of arms and ammunition and III. Intrigues or negotiations with foreign Powers, amounting to alliance.

I. Indoctrination :

It is different from propaganda, radically, as also in ramifications. The classic exposition of the Art of Propaganda which has been an unacknowledged lesson to all the world since the 'thirties of this century, is set forth in Hitler's "Mein Kampf", for which alone he will be remembered with Machiavelli forever. "They love thee least, who owe thee most" finds an excellent illustration in this matter.

The classic exposition, on the other hand, of the Art of Indoctrination is given in Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar". The process sparks off innocuously, with just a sort of casual observation from Brutus :

"Brutus—I do fear, the people choose Caesar for their King". (Act I, Scene II)

The secret society is born, it grows, sets about indoctrinating recruits and builds up the organisation—then brings off the murder, the goal of the conspiracy—all within seven rapid scenes. The murder itself happens in the seventh.

The radical difference between indoctrination and propaganda is that, while "the purpose of propaganda is not the personal instruction of the individual" (Hitler), that of indoctrination is. And the difference in ramifications is that, while propaganda needs

publicity to thrive on—their mutual dependence is quite close—indoctrination functions best without publicity. For indoctrination, as Shakespeare so convincingly shows, a crowd may be quite a satisfactory substitute for the solitude of the depths of an African forest—to cordon off publicity.

The taking of an oath is so often associated with indoctrination that it is popularly supposed to be the indoctrination itself. But oath-taking presupposes a great deal of indoctrination already done. Though the supernatural, mystical or religious element that the oath seeks to introduce, to clinch and confirm, may be valuable—in fact, often is—there is nevertheless no reason to consider it to be essential. It would be nearer to the truth if the oath-taking were taken as the line that divides the active wing from the passive. In every subversive movement, there is always a passive wing the mass-base, on the silent, subjacent, but substantial support on which the Secret Society relies, to be able to operate; and, more often than not, the passive wing, though as completely indoctrinated as the active, is not asked to take the oath. But there may as well be various oaths for various categories.

The Indian Sedition Committee, in its Report (1918), records the forms of four vows for the Anusilan Samiti, a subversive Secret Society of those days, which had its base in Dacca (then in undivided Bengal). The initial vow, the final vow, the first special vow and the second special vow. "The special vow", says one of the indoctrinated, "was—

taken by each of us, specially before the goddess (Kali or Durga) with a sword and Gita on the head and kneeling on the left knee".¹

The Report has a whole chapter on the methods of indoctrination, as adopted by the Bengal Secret Societies to recruit young men of schools and colleges for the cause.

The Mau Mau had at least two oaths, negative and positive.²

The EOKA oath of the Cypriot Secret Society runs on familiar lines.³

The Hetairia (Society of Friends) was founded in 1814, to achieve the independence of Greece from the Turkish Empire, at Odessa, where Greek and pro-Greek Russian interests always met. The number of grades in this society was seven—Brethren, Apprentices, Priests of Eleusis, Shepherds, Prelates, Initiated and Supreme Initiated. The last two grades were invested with a military character and directly intended for war. The candidates for initiation had to kneel down, at night, in an oratory and to swear before a painting of the Resurrection fidelity, constancy, secrecy and absolute obedience. Some of the signs and passwords were common to all the degrees, but others were known to the higher grades only, each of which had its peculiar mysteries.⁴

The Secret Society's activities in indoctrination would also include the 'vnarod', "going among the people" in the latter half of the nineteenth century in Russia. The same sort of phenomena could be observed also about the Naxalites of West Bengal. In Russia, as also here, the cultural disparity between the more instructed classes who posed for instructors and the less instructed was much too great to be spanned easily. Turgenev, in his "Virgin Soil", describes the obstacles and the snag in Russia, but a sincere endeavour on the part of the upper classes was very much in evidence. The sons and daughters of wealthy

and aristocratic families, all members of Secret Societies, renounced the comfort and security of home, also the advantages of rank and position, to associate with the common people, dressing and faring like them and working with them, to inspire them with ideas which the Secret Societies stood for. Thus, in the winter of 1872, in a hovel near St. Petersburg, Prince Peter Kropotkin gathered round him a number of work-men; Obuchoff, a rich Cossack, was doing the same thing on the banks of the Don; Leonidas Seiseko, an officer, became a hand-weaver in one of the St. Petersburg manufactories to carry on the work of indoctrination; Demetrius Rogaceff, another officer, and a friend of his went to the province of Tver, as sawyers, to spread doctrines among peasants; Sophie Perovskaia, who, like Kropotkin, belonged to the highest aristocracy—her father was Governor-General of St. Petersburg—took to vaccinating village children, as a camouflage for her activity.⁴ But, despite everything, it is doubtful how far the indoctrination was successful on any large scale.

The subversive Secret Society in China against the Manchu Empire clearly produced better results. "The Kelao, the Society of Brothers, in China, claimed many members among the Taoist doctor-priests. It was one of the many Secret Societies formed many centuries ago. It was most powerful in Szechuan and their patron saint was the first Ming Emperor. Resistance to the Manchu had continued for decades in Szechuan; it had been popularised through the Secret Societies, the Kelao, the White Lotus, the Triad and others. When the revolt against the Manchu started in earnest, they all made significant and substantial contribution to the cause. Disguised as Taoist physicians, they travelled and carried messages, doing 'liaison' work among the provinces. The Secret Societies, of course, had their own passwords, gestures and ceremonies. The uninitiated were

not allowed to know them and a member who revealed them died."5

The people in China were better indoctrinated than in Russia of the 'Vnaroed'.

The heart of the target for indoctrination by the Secret Society is the Fighting Forces. The Empire of the Manchu fell, because the fighting forces were adversely indoctrinated. "The control of the army", says Jerome Ch'en, "Was the key to the success of the October rising".6

"The self-strengthening Army, or the Eighth Division, which had grown under Chiang Che-Tuang's auspices and Chiang Piao's command had been for years the centre of revolutionary political activities. A large number of cadets who had received military training and embraced radical doctrine in Japan, were employed as officers by Chiang Che-Tuang and his successor Jui-Cheng. The Central China branch of the Revolutionary Party and the Eighth Division were almost synonymous and Hupei soldiers were indeed the backbone of all the revolutionary bodies."7

The beginning of the revolution which overthrew the Manchu was a mutiny among troops at Wuchang. Many Chinese cities, then as many as fourteen provinces, ranged themselves with the mutineers. And this was the end. The Emperor abdicated and a Republic was proclaimed.

Something more is needed to make the doctrines an effective spear-head, to convert tame hens into game-cocks—a philosophy which can be a spear-head. In Russia, in 1917, the subversive Secret Society got such a philosophy—for it promised all things to all men—and also the most fertile soil for indoctrination, the remnants of the Fighting Forces reeling back home from defeat. Indoctrination could develop, from a combination of these, an enormous striking power, which led straight to success. Without either the philosophy or the fertile soil, the chances were

that the historic accident of Sovietism and Communism combining would not have taken place in Russia then.

The Indian Secret Societies, during the first World War, appear to have put the indoctrination of Fighting Forces in the front-rank of their programme and some progress also appears to have been made. But the Government, having got reports of it in advance, succeeded in nipping it in the bud. Dates fixed for simultaneous Army-mutinies in various parts of the country could not be kept; and, as a result of premature disclosures, many conspirators were hanged and the scheme fizzled out.8

Attempted indoctrination of prisoners-of-war at Government level, against their parent-States, during War has been now rather common. Rebecca West, in her "Meaning of Treason", describes the part Joen Amery was made to play in the attempted indoctrination of British p.o.w.s. There are many other instances of a similar nature on record.

What is however uncommon, almost unique, is the successful indoctrination of prisoners-of-war against their employer—Empire at Secret Society level, that is to say, by members of it living in exile.9 Such an event happened—and it deserves to be noted. In the second World War, Rash Bihari Bose, the noted Indian subversionist,10 in Japan, succeeded in indoctrinating Indian prisoners-of-war to the extent of building up an Army out of a demoralised crowd and made it possible for Subhas Chandra Bose, another famous exile from the British Empire, to lead it to encounters with the Imperial forces, on India's North-Eastern frontiers.11

II. Procurement of arms and ammunition by theft and purchase.

The purchase of arms and ammunition by the Fenians outside Ireland, also similar purchases by other Secret Societies of Europe and America are fairly well known. A few

Indian instances may just as well suffice.

In the first two decades of this century, arms-and-ammunition—running into India from abroad, for Indian Secret Societies, was going on rather briskly. It mostly escaped detection.

In 1907, His Excellency the Governor of Pondicherry (French India) submitted to his Council an Arms Bill, which he recommended in a memorandum; and it opened as follows:

"Gentlemen, the regrettable incidents which have accompanied the last legislative elections and the anti-European movement which is going on around us in British territory—tendencies which have, to some extent, been revealed at Chandernagore—render it incumbent upon us at the present time to regulate the import, the holding, the sale and carrying of arms and ammunition in our colonies".¹²

In 1909, Vinayak Savarkar obtained from Paris a parcel of twenty Browning automatic pistols with ammunition and sent them out to Bombay.

Theft from Messrs. Rodda in 1914 put the Bengal Secret Societies in possession of 50 Mauser Pistols and 46000 rounds of ammunition; a few more were obtained by isolated thefts and illicit transfers from licensees.¹³

During the first World War, the Indian Secret Societies were trying to make large-scale purchases of arms and ammunitions outside India and to smuggle them in.

"The attempt to smuggle arms in ships having failed", writes M. N. Roy, "I went abroad for the second time with the alternative plan of bringing arms overland from China. They were to be smuggled through the north-eastern tribal area, where the Abors had risen in revolt only recently. While I left to get arms abroad, a group of our comrades, led by the cleverest amongst us was to proceed to the north-eastern

frontiers, to incite the Abors and the neighbouring tribes to rise again in revolt; this time to be helped with arms and other resources from outside. I made yet another attempt to bring help overseas from Indonesia".¹⁵

In Kenya, before the Mau Mau revealed themselves, "a running refrain", as Fred Majdalany relates in his book on the Mau Mau, "was the loss of fire-arms by Europeans through carelessness. Deterrent fines had little effect." Theft of arms and ammunition on quite a considerable scale was happening all over. 283024 round of ammunition were stolen from the Gilgit dump alone. The official Corfield Report dwells on all this in detail.

Grivas, the Cypriot organiser of EOKA arranged for a Schooner the "Ayios Georghios" registered at Hydra to bring in a large consignment of arms and ammunition, including 27 cases of explosives, with over 10,000 sticks of dynamite from the Hellenic Detonator and Explosive Co., in Athens. Not long before, smaller vessels, the Aiyos Nilolacs and the Aiyos Elebtherios had brought in arms to await his arrival.¹⁶

III. Intrigues, amounting to alliances, with foreign powers.

The Fenians were most substantially helped by America, as were the Greek Secret Societies, by Russia. Italian and other continental Secret Societies of those days used to get at least a lot of moral support from Lord Palmerston, of whom the Austrian Conservatives had, for this reason, the doggerel:

"If the devil has a son,

Surely it's Lord Palmerston".

The foreign back-ground to Indian Secret Societies was getting interesting during the first World War. Varying versions of it are given below; the Secret Society version, the British-Indian official version and the foreign (in this case, a German) version.

"More than a quarter of a century before India finally attained the coveted goal of national independence, the tempting vision of an earlier possibility had called a generation of young men to fruitless adventures. On the outbreak of the first World War in 1914, Indian revolutionaries in exile looked towards Germany as the land of hope and rushed there full of expectations. By the end of the year, the news reached us in India that the Indian Revolutionary Committee in Berlin had obtained from the German Government the promise of arms and money required to declare the war or independence. The news spread like wild fire, to affect the Indian soldiers of the British army also...The job of finding money for initial expenditure, entrusted to me, was soon done according to plan. Then we were confronted with the problem of getting the promised arms into the country...we chose the Dutch East Indies, and before the end of 1914, I left for Java—my first trip out of the country. I returned within two months, with some money, not much; but as regards arms, the coveted cargo of the Golden Fleece—it was a wild-goose-chase. They failed to arrive, because, as it was discovered later, the whole plan was a hoax, a veritable swindle".¹⁷

The Report of the Indian Sedition Committee, mentions it from the official point of view; after referring to Beruhard's "Germany and the Next War" (1911) as a source of the idea, then to the rise of the Gadr Revolutionary Party in California for Indian independence and the setting up of affiliated secret societies in Bangkok and Batavia; it is as follows.

"Early in 1915, certain of the Bengal revolutionaries met and decided to organise and put the whole scheme of raising a rebellion in India with the help of Germans upon a proper footing, establishing co-operation between revolutionaries in Siam and other places with Bengal and getting into touch with

the Germans and that funds should be raised by dacoities.....Our examination of the German arms schemes suggests that the revolutionaries concerned were far too sanguine and that the Germans with whom they got in touch were very ignorant of the movement of which they attempted to take advantage."¹²

Here is another version, this time a German, of parallel activities of Indian Secret Society groups in India's north west, that is, Afghanistan.

"During the first World War, an *intermezzo* was played by German, India and Afghanistan, which is generally forgotten by historians of this period. A mission despatched in 1915 from Turkey straight across Persia to Afghanistan has claimed rather the interest of young people who are intoxicated by absorbing tales of bold expeditions into unknown regions. And how colourful is the 'second Anabasis', the story of this expedition to Afghanistan by Oskar Von Niedermayer, who appeared as Haji Mirza, the pilgrim to Mecca, in the midst of expeditions of Indians, Turks and Germans. Mindful of the position of Afghanistan and of its historical role as the land of Mohammed of Ghazni and his spiritual followers, the Germans wanted to strike, through this country, at British power in India. It is true that the King would not have anything to do with the prospect of causing unrest in India of his own accord. Niedermayer writes: 'In the course of our subsequent negotiations I had to think again and again of a splendid image which he once used in conversation. He compared us to merchants with all kinds of wares, from among which he wanted to select those which seemed to him good and useful'. The testimony of an Indian, Rajah Mahendra Pratap, is also available on the subject of the same expedition whose military conduct was in the hands of Ritter Von Niedermayer, while Dr. Von Hentig had charge of diplomacy. The Rajah writes in

detail about this expedition in his autobiography.

"Nevertheless there proceeded from this circle, a joint Indian-Afghan-German political entity, the proclamation which followed on 1st December, 1915, of the provisional government of India, in which the Rajah Mahendra Pratap appeared as President, Maulana Barkatullah as Prime Minister and Maulana Ubaidullah as Minister of the Interior." 19

M. N. Roy, in his "Memoirs", speaks of the Indian Revolutionary Committee in Berlin and of the international episode described above, as follows :

"Towards the end of 1914, an emissary of the Committee (Indian Revolutionary Committee in Berlin) brought to us in India the news that the German Government would help our struggle for independence.....the members of the Berlin Committee were looked upon by us in India with respect and admiration due to great revolutionaries. It was not a mean achievement on their part to have acquired in Berlin the status of the representatives of a belligerent power, so as to enlist the support of the German Government for India's struggle against British Imperialism. It seemed that the Committee proposed to function as a provisional Government in exile, and believed that it was recognised as such by the German Government."

The illusion on its part and the deceitfulness of the German Propaganda Department created an atmosphere of unreality. The Committee was completely isolated from India and could do little in Europe to help the cause of Indian independence. The Germans utilised it for a strife of words and ideas only.

.....
"Early in 1915, the German Foreign Office decided to send a mission to Afghanistan with the object of detaching that country from British influence and establishing there a

centre of propaganda to incite trouble in India. The plan was to set up at Kabul the so-called Provisional Government of Independent India, which would call upon the Indian people to revolt against the British rule.The Indo-German mission travelling through Persia reached Kabul. It was headed by Baron Von Henting of the German Foreign Office. He (King Amanulla of Afghanistan) welcomed the German mission and allowed the establishment of the Provisional Government of Independent India with Raja Mahendra Pratap as its President and Maulana Obaidullah as Prime Minister. The latter had come to Kabul directly from India.....But notwithstanding all the moral and material help, the so-called Provisional Government of India could not influence events inside India. Its propagandist activities remained confined to inciting the frontier tribes against the British."

Many members of the Indian Revolutionary Committee in Berlin are discussed in Nehru's Autobiography. Among those who won considerable recognition abroad as members of Indian Secret Societies were Lala Hardayal, who went to Oxford on a Government of India scholarship, but gave it up, left for the United States, where he was a close associate of Alexander Barkman and Emma Goldman and founded the Gadr Party in California ; Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, a brother of Sarojini Naidu, the Indian poet-politician ; Champakraman Pillai, the 'protege' of Count Von Reventlow ; Bhupendra Nath Dutt, a brother of Swami Vivekananda, Dr. Tarak Nath Das ; Savarkar ; Cama and Shyamji Krishna Varma. There were so many others as well. They were the people who, for the first time, held aloft the torch of India's right to independence in the international forum of the world. They led the then last cause ; sowed and did not reap ; wove and were clothed in derision and presumptuously

ridiculed, as if prejudices were a substitute for truth.

The official re-writers of history seek to pass them by, with hardly anything better than a nod. The piper pays then well calls the tune. But Volkgeist remembers and history does not retire. When things begin to be looked at in a different perspective, the present distorted proportions may change, the currently all-important things may be reduced to utter insignificance and a seventeen-year-old Peter Pan reign dwindle to just a small footnote. History, as a famous historian put it, is "an argument without end."

1. Report of the Indian Seditious Committee, 1918.
2. Fred Majdalany's "State of Emergency". (Longmans 1962).
3. W. Byford-Jones—"Grivas and the Story of EOKA" (Robert Hale, '59). The oath is quoted here.
4. Heckethorn's "Secret Societies" (1897).
5. Han Suyin's—"The Crippled Tree".
- 6&7. Jerome Ch'en—"Yuan Shih Kai" (1961).
8. Yadu Gopal Mukherjee—Memoirs of a Revolutionary (Bengali).
9. It has been claimed that, in the first World War, Ubeidullah organised Indian prisoners-of-war into an Army and, in collaboration with a Baluch Chief Jihan Khan, defeated British-Indian troops on the Baluchistan-Iranian frontiers and established a provisional Government of independent India. (Yadu Gopal Mukherjee—"Memoirs of a Revolutionary") (Bengali) M.N. Roy, in his Memoirs, mentions that the Germans sent some of the members of the Secret Society in exile in Germany to indoctrinate Indian troops in Mesopotamia to revolt against the British but says, the propaganda was ineffective. "There was no mutiny of Indian Soldiers, and the number of those taken prisoner was not large enough to compose an army of liberation.....No such army could either reach anywhere near the Indian borders".
10. Referred to earlier, as the man who threw the bomb at the Viceroy Lord Hardinge.
11. The story of the I.N.A. has been variously related; there are many books on the subject. The symposium of tributes to the memory of Rash Bihari Bose, when he died in Japan should also be read in this connection. It has been published by Rash Bihari Bose Memorial Samity, 7, Lower Chitpore Road, Calcutta. (1963).
12. Indian Seditious Committee's Report, 1918.
13. Ibid.
14. This has reference to either Jatindra Nath Mukherjee killed in the fight near Balasore in Orissa, or to Yadu Gopal Mukherjee.
15. M.N. Roy's "Memoirs" (Allied Publishers 1964).
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SIKKIM ASSEMBLY POLL—A CRITIQUE

SATYA NARAYAN MISHRA

When the one lakh seventeen thousand voters of India's youngest state Sikkim went to elect their thirty two representatives for their Legislative Assembly on 12th October '79, few would have realised that their decision would pose a plethora of problems for the national govt. at the centre as well as for the whole of the north eastern region. This second election of the Sikkim Legislative Assembly has been significant not only because of the emergent political pattern in this Himalayan state of strategic significance but also because of other reasons.

This was the first election to be held in Sikkim under the Indian Constitution. The last election had taken place in 1974 before Sikkim's merger with the Indian Union in 1975 as twenty second State of the Indian Union. Much water had flown in the river Tista by August 13, '79 when the Sikkim Legislative Assembly was dissolved nearly four months after it had completed its five year term on the 16th April '79 by Sikkim Governor Mr. R. B. Lal on the advice of the then Chief Minister Kazi Lendup Dorji following the political crisis sparked off by the controversial bill allocating Assembly Seats on ethnic basis and consequent defection from the ruling Janata Party. Another significance of this election was that for the first time in Indian democracy photo identity cards were issued to eighty per cent of the voters, i.e. over eighty two thousand voters.¹ The rest twenty per cent voters were not covered because of the delay in the intensive photography drive of the state election machinery.

The timing of the election also deserves

special attention for this election was held on the basis of Ordinance No.7 of 1979 promulgated by the President as the House of the People was dissolved earlier without finally considering the bill No.79 of 1979 dealing with the new criterion for the distribution of seats on the ethnic basis and the Council of States was not in session. The Ordinance known as the Representation of the People (Amendment) Ordinance 1979 issued by the President of India and published in the extraordinary Gazette No. 75 of September 7 of the Govt. of Sikkim laid down new formula for the distribution of seats.

The formula, in brief, was that twelve seats would be reserved for Sikkimese of the Bhutia-Lepcha origin, two seats would be reserved for the Scheduled castes of the State, one seat shall be reserved for the Sanghas. The Ordinance had also spelled out that the 'Bhutia' included Chumbipa, Dophthapa, Dukpa, Kagatey, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tromopa and Yolmo ethnic sub-groups. The rest seventeen were general seats. According to the State Chief Electoral Officer D. K. Manavalan of the total electorate a little over 34 per cent were Lepchas and Bhutias, Nepalese accounted for 58 per cent and the remaining were composed of people from the plains and others.² While these figures and the formula given in the Ordinance were criticised in certain sections, the elections were held on this basis in a peaceful atmosphere.

Major parties in the Poll fray were (i) Sikkim State Janata Party (ii) Sikkim Janata Parishad (iii) Sikkim Congress R (iv) Sikkim Prajatantra Congress (v) C.P.M. (vi)

Indian National Congress. The Sikkim Janata Parishad was a major break away group of the erstwhile State Janata Party. The Sikkim Prajatantra Congress was the State unit of Smt. Gandhi's Congress I. The Sikkim Congress R was also a group of those who had left the State Janata Party plus some new elements, mostly Nepalese. Candidates fielded by these parties were as follows—

Sikkim State Janata Party	—	30
Sikkim Janata Parishad	—	30
Sikkim Congress R	—	26
Sikkim Prajatantra Congress	—	31
C.P.M.	—	03
Indian National Congress	—	11

One remarkable feature of the candidature pattern was that there were, besides candidates of political parties, 106 independent candidates in the field. Most of the independent candidates were from the business community outside the Nepalese-Bhutia-Lepcha fold.

The election was welcomed by almost all political sections and every political party took the election in right earnest. The Poll campaign as witnessed in Gangtok and its vicinity gave the impression that the citizens of this small sleepy State were as politically conscious as of any other State. According to a rough estimate prepared by a news agency³ Rs. 2.80 lakhs were spent on petrol alone by the political parties and candidates. The voters were approached through the distribution of pamphlets manifestoes, door to door canvassing, and public meetings as well as corner meetings—the pattern seen in other States was visible, though on a mini scale.

Reading the manifestoes of the various parties, one could notice that except the Sikkim State Janata Party i.e. the ruling Party before the dissolved Assembly, manifestoes of other parties had waxed eloquent on the acts of omission and the commission of the State Janata Party and promised to set things right and improve the lot of the inhabitants. The

common denominator of all the parties was that Nepalese language has not received its due so far and that efforts would be made to get Nepalese language included in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution. While the State Janata Party tried to defend the seat reservation formula as outlined in the controversial bill which could not be cleared by the Parliament Sikkim Congress R (Revolutionary) most vehemently criticised the readjustment Plan contained in the bill prepared allegedly at the instance of the State Janata Party. The Sikkim Janata Parishad declared that they would “strongly oppose Bill No. 79 and fight for safeguarding the interest of the Sikkimese Nepalese as has been done in the case of the Sikkimese Bhutias-Lepchas”.⁴ There was implied condemnation of the administration and the Govt. of India in manifestoes of almost all the parties excepting that of the Sikkim Janata Party. Each party sought to focus regional feeling and regional aspirations, suggesting that Sikkim was not yet absorbed in the mainstream of national life.

The one day poll was peaceful, thanks to the Police Bandobast and the vigilance of the C.R.P. and the local administration. A government order banning the sale of liquor from October 11 to 15 Contributed to the quiet air in town. Of the 32 Assembly Constituencies, election could not be held in one S. C. Constituency as one of the candidates died before the Polling day.

The results upset the Janata political appearance completely for not only the Party leader and the father figure of reasurgent Sikkim Kazi Dorji got defeated but the Party did not win even a single seat. The Indian National Congress and the C. P. M. also drew blank. The Sikkim Janata Parishad bagged the majority of seats—17. Next to gain was the Sikkim Congress R, which got 11 seats. Indira Gandhi's Sikkim Prajatantra Congress succeeded in getting three seats. Of the 100

independents, not one got elected.

How to account for the debacle of the Sikkim Janata Party? In the first place, the voting was negative in the sense that the Sikkimese had become fed up with the misadministration and the garrison state atmosphere generated by the overwhelming presence of the C. R. P. People seem to have voted for a change. According to one study⁵ "while the majority group of population—Nepalese, were alienated because of the hostile attitude shown to their language and also because of non-reservation of seats in the new Assembly for them, the original inhabitants, the Lepcha—Bhutias tribals were swayed by the appeal of Sikkimese nationalism as identified with the Chogyal". That Chogyal averged his ouster and humiliation by allegedly lending support and money to the Sikkim Janata Parishad, though denied by Chogyal himself, could not be ruled out in view of the past association and present activities of some powerful personalities of the Janata Parishad. Another explanation could be that the Janata Party was closely identified with the people from the plains and was accused of being an agent of the "Marwari Banias". Yet another cause was that in the south area "the Janata Party had put up candidates who did not belong to the constituency".⁶ The winners exploited to their advantages these weak chunks in the Janata armoury.

Significance of the result

The results have serious national and international significance and do not augur well for Indian nationalism and Indian democracy. The victory of the Sikkim Janata Parishad signifies the advent of regionalism as a major factor in the stormy politics of North Eastern India. Political analysts are convinced that only regional parties pandering to Sikkimese sub-nationalism can survive

and that the days of all India Parties are numbered in this part of the land. This, in a way, fits in with the over all pattern of politics of North East India. Regional Parties are in saddle in Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura and some other States. Since the vote cast in favour of the Sikkim Janata Parishad is tantamount to the support to the stand of Chogyal about the merger of Sikkim into Indian Union, it obviously may open a Pandora's box. One can't fail commenting at this point that the inadvertent personal feeling of Janata Prime Minister Sri M. Desai that the merger was questionable might give a handle to the ruling Janata Parishad to embarrass New Delhi. As the ruling Sikkim Janata Parishad had never made a secret of its displeasure with the mode and content of the merger, chances of open confrontation between New Delhi and Gangtok cannot be ruled out.

While the new government of Sikkim have sought to remove this apprehension by publicly proclaiming the merger as fait accompli the forces hostile to India both within and without may foment trouble and create explosive situation. With two of our unfriendly neighbours—Nepal and China—on the side of Chogyal, U.S. may join the anti-India campaign and bolster up the claims of Chogyal for undoing the history. The mess that the Janata Party had made of Indian foreign policy, Bhutan too may join this anti-India circle out to disrupt the political stability and weaken our security. At a time when the Peace and security of the whole region is in a precarious state, a State of Sikkim's strategic significance, may be the base camp of forces inimical to India. Delhi's problems get more complicated in this background.

The way the ruling Janata Parishad has been conducting its affairs only confirms the doubt that Gangtok's new rulers look with suspicion and distrust to New Delhi. Even

before the party was inducted into Power. Mr. L. B. Basnet, one of the leaders of the ruling party had come out with the statement that it would ask for Governor's recall.⁷ The government has also planned to get the C R P withdrawn in a phased manner—in a way the new government appears intent on snapping the established close ties with Delhi and upset the forces which were generated in 1974 to get Sikkim into the mainstream of national life.

On the domestic front "sense of insecurity grips the people from the plains". Sinews of Commerce and industry seem choked. The Marwari-Baniyas are likely to be panicky and pack for other places where climate of investment may be better. Sikkim may witness the same type of flight of Marwaris as was seen in the first C P M Ministry of West Bengal.

Luckily the only silver lining in the cloudy horizon is that New Delhi of 1980 is not the

pack of in men competent and that it can be expected to play the game with tact, courage and charity, without malice. One hopes that the rulers of Sikkim realise that they owe this freedom and honour to Smt. Indira Gandhi who gave a concrete shape to the democratic forces in Sikkim by cutting the Chogyal to size. Let them remember that if U S could betray the Shah of Iran, Chogyal had better cast his lot with the people of India.

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Current Affairs

Successful Completion Of Long-Duration Space Flight

Mikhail Chernyshov writes in "Science and Engineering" :—

Their return had been awaited for a long time. Vladimir Lyakhov and Valery Ryumin, who spent 175 days—almost six months—in orbit, working hard, are now back on earth.

Although August 19 was a Sunday, everyone worked at the control centre. Such is the timetable in space research : it does not always coincide with our habitual calendar. A day's delay in bringing the craft down would mean the orbit will no longer pass through the calculated area of landing.

It was about a fortnight ago that the

cosmonauts had begun preparations for their return. They increased their training on a tiny space stadium and in the "chibis" suits and added salt and water to their diets. They continued to feel well.

"We have no doubt", says Doctor of Medicine Anatoly Egorov, "that their post-mission period will be normal too. Of the six months they spent in space they did not even had a cold. What is more, Valery Ryumin retained his weight—something I have never had in my practice."

The cosmonauts' space walk and separation of the radio telescope aerial from the station was a certain departure from the normal return procedure. But their high spirits due to the successful work more than recouped that breach of the routine. It was a splendid feat. Even the New York Times, which pointedly ignored the flight, described what Lyakhov and Ryumin did as a new achievement of Soviet space science.

Cosmonautics develops in such a way that in the near future orbital stations will develop into continuously operating research laboratories to fulfil the requests of scientists and various economic bodies. It is therefore very important to make cosmonaut's work efficient. The six months Lyakhov and Ryumin stayed in space is added proof that the most effect is given by long missions.

Space technology is more paying for itself. Some twenty years ago it was hardly possible to predict that on cosmonauts' recommendations oil workers on the Caspian and in Siberia would move their drilling rigs to new areas, cattle breeders in Turkmenia would drive their herds to better pasture lands and fishermen go to the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean to catch mackerel, bass and squid. Today all this is a reality. In their logbook Lyakhov and Ryumin have more than a hundred clients listed. On the whole space information in the

USSR is used by over 400 organisations.

There are still no orbital facilities for making semiconductors, optical glass and medicines. But the day is not far off. The scale on which space investigations are carried out is indeed unprecedented. The samples of crystals produced on Salyut-6 by Lyakhov and Ryumin's predecessors are already functioning in experimental optical and computing devices. Many countries are now interested in space technology, and the Soviet Union has allowed Czechoslovak, Polish, GDR, Bulgarian and French scientists to use its facilities for experiments. Astronomers, too, expect a great deal from outer space. Salyut-6, for example, tested three astronomical instruments: a big sub-millimetre telescope, a gamma telescope and a radio telescope with a 10 metre aerial, which is unmatched anywhere in the world. Some of the experiments were successful, but there were also snags. But these are natural "growth pains", because much is being done for the first time.

Lyakhov and Ryumin have overstayed their predecessors in space by more than a month and it will be now their endurance result that will serve as a reference point for medicine to be exceeded by other researchers. An extensive programme of biological experiments to study the effect of continued weightlessness on living organism has been carried out.

The successful ending of the expedition is a source of joy not only for Lyakhov and Ryumin, but also for those who helped to make the space equipment and carry out the flight. It is nearly two years that Salyut-6 has been in operation, playing host to seven pairs of explorers, three international crews among them. Professor Konstantin Feoktistov in one of the recent interviews said that the station's further use in the manned mode would soon be discussed.

The Unemployment Problem : How It Was Solved In The USSR

By Boris Krotkov

The world today is witnessing a new round of economic recession in the industrialized capitalist countries. This means that within the next few months the employment problem will be aggravated in these countries and in many developing states whose economics are closely linked with the West. The developing nations have already about 350 million people out of jobs, including more than 300 million in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In the early Soviet years this country encountered enormous difficulties. It inherited from tsarist Russia the poor countryside and mass illiteracy (which amounted to over 50 per cent of the population). The situation was aggravated by the tremendous economic dislocation as a result of the imperialist First World War and the Civil War and foreign military intervention. Many industrial plants were at standstill, agriculture was in decline, complete havoc reigned in transport, the country experienced a severe fuel crisis. For instance, as compared to the pre-war year of 1913, the extraction of coal and oil in 1920 decreased by 67 per cent and the output of cast iron by 97 per cent.

All these factors brought about the intensive growth of unemployment in the USSR in the 1920s. The problem was made more acute due to the demobilization of the multi-million army which greatly expanded the workforce. Besides, the country had a considerable agrarian over-population. Millions of poor peasants, who had no opportunities of living by agricultural work, began to move to the cities in search of jobs. In the main they represented unskilled workers. At the same time, a growing younger generation further expanded the army of the unemployed.

From the summer of 1922 to the summer of 1924 the number of people out of work rose

from 407,000 to 1,344,000. By 1927 more than 1,576,000 people were registered on labour exchanges alone.

On the Way to the Complete Elimination of Unemployment

Immediately after the Civil War the young Soviet republic mobilized all its efforts towards the revival of industry and agriculture. Factories and mines started to operate again, transport was being revived and state farms were being established. As a result, millions of people get jobs.

One of the earlier steps of the Soviet government was to establish an eight-hour working day throughout the country and of workers' control at private and state-run enterprises. Not a single worker could be dismissed without the consent of workers' inspectors. The labour exchanges regulated the employment of the able-bodied population. Temporary, seasonal and public works were organised. The Soviet government instituted the unemployment relief fund to which state and private enterprises made fixed donations from the wages fund. Free canteens and hostels were set up for the unemployed.

But these half-measures could only alleviate the aftermaths of joblessness. To completely and finally solve this problem a radical socialist change of society was needed. The industrialization of the country, the setting up of peasants' cooperatives and the cultural revolution were to become the main lines of this restructuring of the national economy.

By 1926 the USSR mainly completed the rehabilitation of the national economy. The output reached the level of 1913. On reaching that stage it became possible to start laying the material and technical basis of socialism.

The First Soviet five-year plan (1929 1932) laid the foundations of the industrialization of the country and the restructuring of the agricultural sector along cooperative lines. Giant work was started all over the country. The

plan envisaged the construction of more than 1,500 large enterprises: factories, electric power stations and mines. In the countryside peasants' small-scale farmsteads united into collective farms. New construction projects provided a great number of jobs.

Unemployment was rapidly decreasing, and by 1930 the last labour exchange was closed down for ever.

However, that did not mean the solution of all problems. As a shortage of skilled manpower developed, the Soviet government paid much attention to the training of specialists. Preparatory faculties were set up for workers and peasants, who earlier were unable to finish even secondary school, wishing to go to institutes and universities. Vocational schools were also organised. Under the first five-year plan they trained over half a million skilled young workers. All these measures were financed by the state.

Today all Soviet citizens can choose their trade or profession in accordance with their inclinations, abilities and training, an opportunity without which there can be no real democracy.

The right to work is guaranteed by the USSR Constitution, Article 40 of which reads, in particular, that "this right is ensured by the socialist economic system, steady growth of the productive forces, free vocational and professional training, improvement of skills, training in new trades or professions, and development of the systems of vocational guidance and job placement." (From The Backgrounder)

Year Of The Peace Process

By Dr. Walter Eytan

The Year 5739, now ending, opened barely two weeks after the signing of the Camp David accords—outlining the "framework" of a Middle East settlement and a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. It was the final

conclusion of this treaty which without doubt was, for both countries, the outstanding event of the year.

It took several months longer to work out than had been expected, but by March it had become fact. In April instruments of ratification were exchanged, and by May the autonomy talks were under way—autonomy for "the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza." These negotiations are now actively proceeding, without break or crisis so far, while other provisions of the peace treaty are also being carried out.

The Suez Canal has been opened to Israeli shipping (naval vessels and freighter alike), and traffic has moved without a hitch, Israel has begun shutting down her military installations in Sinai and has restored El Arish to Egyptian rule. By January it is expected that full normalization will, according to the agreed time-table, have been attained—symbolized dramatically by the exchange of ambassadors between the two countries. Even now, Israelis can (and do) visit Egypt, while an Egyptian passport no longer bars its holder from entering Israel.

Yet The further Israel and Egypt have advanced on the road to peace, the more violently have most Arab states opposed it. So far this opposition has not modified either Israel's or Egypt's determination to carry out the provisions of their agreement down to the last detail. If anything, it has had the opposite effect, since both have gone so far that they know there can be no turning back. They know, too, that the peace treaty is wholly in the interest of each and that other Arab states, willy-nilly, will in due course follow suit.

What has been more disturbing has been the unwillingness of the outside world, with the solitary exception of the United States, to lend the peace process its whole-hearted endorsement.

The Real Problem

Far more shameful has been the sulky reaction of the nine-member European Economic Community, led by France, Britain and Germany. These civilized states have been so petrified by Arab threats of oil sanctions (higher prices, boycotts, embargoes and the rest) that they have been able to do no more than shuffle their feet in embarrassment—knowing full well that peace between Egypt and Israel has been a tremendous achievement, but not daring to say so. Instead, they are still holding out for a “comprehensive” peace, as if Israel and Egypt had not taken the essential first step if ever Jordan, Syria and the others are to be brought in—and as if they were not negotiating on the autonomy plan which, five years after conclusion of the agreement, is to lead to Palestinian self-determination. We have here a distressing example of political cowardice under economic fire.

In the course of 5739 Israel's international image has not been improved, less by her own fault than by the faint-heartedness of the rest of the world. Even the United States has condemned Israel's settlement policy as “illegal”—as if this were the point. As a result, Israel has been stressing the new settlements' legality, and a barren argument has been conducted between her and everyone else. The problem, of course, is wholly political—claims of legality or illegality only cloud the issue. It may not have been politically wise to put up new settlements in Judea and Samaria at this time, but this is a risk the Israel Government has thought fit to take, moved as it is by a perfectly legitimate concern for the country's security. It is the security problem which should be discussed, not anything else.

Hard To Do Right

As things are, Israel can do little right in the eyes of others. This derives inexorably

from the balance of international power. Of the more than 150 members of the United Nations, barely thirty are democracies—four-fifths find themselves, therefore, automatically on the Arab side and will normally applaud any Arab cause. The democracies, for their part, are—with scarcely an exception—dependent on Arab oil for their energy: that is, for their very existence as modern industrialized nations. In these circumstances, it is fairly amazing, and a sign of extraordinary vitality, that Israel should find strength to argue back at all—as if any amount of argument could help.

We are determined, however, not to let our case go by default. We know that the treaty with Egypt is the first step to a Middle East settlement and peace with the other Arab states—and we know that they know it. If at present we come up against the classic rejection syndrome we have faced in the Arab camp for the past thirty years, we are confident that in time we shall overcome it. The Arabs have consistently said “no” to anything that might ease or institutionalize their co-existence with Israel, but they have just as consistently had to climb down at step after step.

To Follow Egypt

Whether Jordanians and Palestinians join in the autonomy talks or not, as provided by the Camp David “framework”, the year 5740 which we usher in will doubtless see a strengthening of the drive for peace. Even if it remains restricted to Egypt and Israel alone, it will serve as an example whose force will make itself felt. Egypt more than once led other Arab states to war against Israel, and they followed. They followed, too, when Egypt in 1949 took the lead in concluding an armistice. Sooner or later they will follow again, until peace reigns everywhere along Israel's borders.

Variety of Life in Calcutta's 'Streetland'

—Charles Newton

A Scotsman, in a moment of expansive exuberance, declared: 'There are only two classes of people in the world—those who are Scotsmen and those who are not'. If I may adapt his 'bull' to local conditions, there are only two classes of people in Calcutta; those who live on the streets and those who do not.

Calcutta's vast streetland, which aggregates about 500 miles in length, is about the largest piece of real estate in the world—real estate that does not have to be bought (legally). Indeed, only a few nights ago I witnessed a quarrel between two grubby 'beach-combers' over the right to sleep on a particular piece of pavement. Disension evaporated when the more aggressive of the two spread his rags over the disputed territory, stood proprietorially on them, and asserted in a tone of finality that he had occupied that particular piece of 'dormitory' since the time when his opponent could have been only in embryo in a snug feminine habitat.

With such long-established claims to 'ownership' of pavements, we who traverse them by day must surely be looked upon as trespassers. By night, of course, we should have to tread human carpets, in some sectors.

And if 'ownership' of pavement space by night is claimed by length of sleeping tenure, by day it is claimed by a motley variety of tradesmen by length of commercial tenure. Indeed, just as every sovereign maritime State is entitled to claim 12 or more miles of sea from its coast, so every shop appears to lay claim to a stretch of Pavement in front of it, and to lease it to the highest bidder. Added to these varied claims of different classes of humans to pavement space, both by day and by night, is the fact that legitimate pedestrians have to share right of way also with cattle, dogs, and cats, who, too, are zealous guardians of their 'rights.'

Trucks, 'public highways in this city are, for

all practical purposes private preserves. And, therefore, much that should be done in private is done in public. Indeed, every facet of life—from cradle to crematorium is covered on local streets, the harsh glare of the noon-day sun, or the garish blaze of neon lights notwithstanding. Small wonder that visitors from other lands should be amused and astonished by the wealth of life on Calcutta's streets and pronounce it as the richest in the world.

Let me take you on a rapid tour of Streetland. Dawn is breaking, and sleepers are awakening from their slumber, which appears to have been as refreshing as that enjoyed by others on rubber foam mattresses. They roll up their improvised bedding those who possess such effects and tuck it away in some corner of the adjoining building. Apparently, tenancy of pavements entitles them to claim extra-territorial rights. Menfolk pull out a strip of neemstick from their bundle of belongings, fill a tin-turnedmug with unfiltered water from a nearby hydrant, and brush their teeth. Water, of a muddy hue, is splashed on the face, and the morning toilette is over. Meanwhile women wash their babies and themselves. By sunrise, the streets end their role as dormitories, receive a perfunctory sponging from the Corporation's corps, and turn themselves over to their daytime routine. Buses, trams, and other vehicles rumble along the centre of the road, while teashops along pavements open their doors. Steaming tea is offered to the pavement clientele, and family groups—by blood or otherwise—suck up the beverage from china cups with serrated rims, or from the humbler earthen counterparts.

Midday sees street life at its peak: barbers are giving nonchalant clients a haircut or a shave; here and there, mothers sit with breasts bare, feeding rickety babies; peons and others of a similar type are having their ears cleaned by men who make this job a profession; fortune-tellers and palmists sit singing out their

powers, with a mass of abracadabra around them; and holy cows chew the cud with that detachment which makes them appear so other-worldly.

In the quieter areas, women, mostly refugees, choose secluded spots as all-purpose homes. They wash, do their cooking, and laundering alfresco. Their naked babies play in the vicinity with imaginary toys—tin cans, bits of wood, and stones.

Greater variety to the general daytime population is lent by the bewildering types of beggars—men, women, and children of all ages

and degrees of decrepitude. Pick-pockets and diverse species of spivs, too, find the streets profitable professional headquarters. And there are the inevitable letter-writers and typists who draw admiration and sustenance from the unlettered.

But even though Calcutta's streets may have a grimy face, they are nonetheless fascinating. When Charlie Chaplin was conducting Somerset Maugham round the slums of San Francisco, some years ago, he remarked 'This is the real life: the rest is all sham'. (Calcutta Municipal Gazette")

AN APPOLOGY FOR J. M. B.

N. P. SHARMA

If it had been the year 1904 or even the period between 1908 and 1927 the idea of an apology for Sir James Matthew Barrie (1860-1937), the famous author of the plays like *The Admirable Crichton* and *Peter Pan*, would have seemed rather puerile. But during the last fifty years Barrie's star has descended into the lowest depths of the dramatic firmament. No one ever talks these days of this one-time great British playwright who held the English stage unquestionably in his own distinctive

fashion for about thirty years in the early part of this century, and contributed much in the dramatic efflorescence that stood rotably silhouetted against the foregoing arid period of dramatic activity. Rather, it is the fashion today to despise him, to stigmatize him as an escapist and as a propagator of infatuation. Not only this, the recent crusade of psychoanalysts against him and the changed attitude of the theatre-goers with the change of taste and fashion seem to have conspired to

treat him as a man of no consequence in the field of drama.

This has been, perhaps, due to certain curious highbrow prejudices which make many of us neglect our good writers. Among such critics there are those who expect every author to come up to their pre-set notions, without thinking for a moment that every writer is to be enjoyed for, and to be judged by, his own particular qualities. They go to Barrie for qualities he does not possess and certainly they meet with disappointment. They hardly realise that it is no use expecting from him the mysticism of Yeats and the intellectual social reform of Ibsen or the iconoclasm of Shaw. Very little attention is generally paid to his world of fantasy coupled with latent fact, his rich humour and wit, and above all his sense of the dramatic.

Whether this has done any permanent injury to his literary stature is not the point for the moment. We are, however, not oblivious of the fact that this sort of treatment meted out to him has been responsible for hindering serious interest in him and his work. Further, it has chilled academic enquiry and dramatic concern. Despite a number of books, biographies, articles, and theses about him—which are either too sporadic or too insular in their approach—the current academic focus is largely diverted from him, and any discussion of his dramatic output is considered to be outmodish and anachronistic.

The critical lenses never remain the same in every age. They tend to change with the change of fashion. Hence, it should not surprise anybody that Barrie, who was once the most popular dramatist of his time, has fallen on evil days, and has been in critical disfavour since his death in 1937. The real essence of his plays and their dramatic effectiveness have been overlooked and a lot of fuss is being made about his sentimentality, child-concern and escapist attitude to life. To make

matters worse, the recent psychoanalytical criticism, as pointed out above, has directed itself to the "personality" of Barrie rather than at his work. Such a criticism has attempted to establish that "his work seldom rises above his own psychological problems to say something of wider significance. In play after play he had seemed about to transcend the limitations of the prototypic story in order to deal with matters of great consequences. But when he raised serious issues, he usually reduced them to charming essays in whimsy or sentiment."¹ Further, the extent of reaction against Barrie could be seen even earlier also when David Daiches denounced Barrie as a writer who had perversely exploited "his public's emotional concern with human relationships", and who had created "a cruelly sentimental world", in which, "he takes a positively masochistic pleasure in frustrating all normal expectations about the proper satisfaction of adult human relationships..... Time and again Barrie builds up all his sentimental resources to picture a relationship on which the whole emotional centre of the play or story rests and then he destroys it before our faces..... At the bottom of all this lies a fierce resistance to the implications of any mature human relationship."²

The fact is that there has been a wide disparity of judgment between the critical opinion of the nineties and that of today, and as Henry Bett says, "Stevenson, and most other people forty years ago, unhesitatingly regarded Barrie as a writer of genius. Many critics today would think the word is scarcely to be applied to him, except in some very qualified sense, and then with a reference rather to his plays than to his novels."³ But like earlier critics such as W.L. Phelps, Patrick Braybrook, P.R. Chalmers, F. J. H. Darton, Thomas Moulton, and James A. Roy who had great admiration for Barrie's genius, there have been critics even during the sixties

and seventies who have recognized his worth even in the face of opposition to Barrie's claim as a man of much consequence in drama and literature. Among such critics is the distinguished drama scholar Professor Allardyce Nicoll who felt that "in a civilization highly conscious of economic conditions and dominated by behavioristic psychology his is a lonely figure; yet no other dramatist of his time was more adroit than he, no other fixed his gaze so intimately upon the vagaries of human nature viewed, not at moments of tempestuous passion, but by the light of the desert island's camp fire, the gentle glow of the parlour fire, or the moonlight of the enchanted forest."⁴ A.C. Ward too felt similarly: "future playgoers and critics alike may value him for his uniqueness."⁵ Robert Kemp's article in the *Listener* is a befitting reply to Professor Daiches' "anger", when Kemp said that he "was much amused by the strange anger of David Daiches in a Third Programme Talk, Barrie has been a source of anger to many, which is largely a sign of life.....The man was a poet in the theatre. By that I do not mean that he wrote poetry; I mean that he evoked something magically in the theatre."⁶ Barrie's latest critic Allen Wright feels that some stuff of Barrie will still endure: "In the last quarter of the twentieth century, Barrie's excursions to Never Neverland, Lob's wood, and the Island that Likes to be visited, may have lost much of their appeal but the vigour of some of his short plays and stories is undiminished. *Ibsen's Ghost*, *The Twelve-Pond Look*, and *Shall We Join the Ladies?* would make a glorious triple bill. The first act of *What Every Woman Knows* could stand on its own.....When the play was revived in London in 1974, and at Pitlochry in 1976, the critics were utterly disarmed by the humour and the consummate craftsmanship of the opening scene. Anyone who saw either of these productions could realise that J.M. Barrie was far from being

a spent force"⁷ John Mason Brown⁸ and William McGraw⁹ also belong to the category of these discerning critics who try to understand Barrie in the right spirit.

As a matter of fact, Barrie can be understood and evaluated only by the laws of his own universe. There are no stereotype critical rules which could be applicable to him. The main targets of dissenting critics are: Barrie's sentimentality, infatualism, and his mother-fixation. While forming their opinion these critics tend to ignore the total output of the dramatist. A careful thought would reveal that writing for children or writing about children for that matter was not a central part of Barrie's work. It was a mere digression. This notion about his interest only in children and fantasies etc. has been due to the annual staging of *Peter Pan* at Christmas festival, and as Allen Wright also points out, "it has probably magnified the view that he was obsessed with motherhood, and it has left the impression that child's whimsy was his strongest stint."¹⁰ But the real fact is that Barrie was interested in far greater and profounder realities of life than in weaving his fantasies for children only. Undoubtedly, his choice of the fantasy medium, which was akin to his mental make-up, has been responsible for the mistaken notion that he evaded the solid realities of life. The stark truth is that these fantasies do give us a glimpse into a universe of the essential realities of human life. As for his sentimentality, it can be agreed that it is very much there in his writings, but is the result of his sad contemplation of the issues of human life. In his plays along with fantasy and romance there is always a concern for the deeper things of life. If the author of *Peter Pan*, *Dear Brutus*, *Mary Rose*, and *The Boy David* is not a "realist" who can, except Shakespeare, claim himself a realist in the broadest sense. His concern with the eternal mysteries of youth and Age, life and death, the conflict

between divinity and evil, is an appropriate pointer to those who accuse Barrie of escapism and unearthliness.

In an interpretation of an author's work, the psychoanalytical approach is far from adequate and is rather unreliable, for creative genius is too impalpably elusive a thing to be identified with certain narrow conclusions reached via this method. The essence of art can only be felt through a fine perception and sympathetic understanding, not by a process that primarily aims at tracing the well-springs of a particular "creation" into psychic layers, impulses, repressions, and complexes of a writer, subordinating the "created thing" to the indefinable sources or causes of creation. For a proper appreciation of an author's work, though at times, it may be desirable to connect it with the external and internal influences that might have affected his being substantially, it is almost atrocious to explain exclusively in terms of psychoanalysis; since it tends to underrate the unspeakable, ethereal nature of art. It is safer to study the writer through his art and not the other way round. The clue to Barrie's mind lies in his plays and playlets which incorporate his total vision of life and his attitude to its eternal realities. A sympathetic understanding of his writings would yield greater pleasure and a much profounder meaning.

What appears purely fantastic in his plays has a hard core of truth in it which can be comprehended if our approach is free from prejudices and pre-set notions. And, even for those who do not bother for truth or reality there is much to be found in his plays. There is joy, romance, mystery, and wonder in this realm. There is, undoubtedly, an escape from the drabness of life into enchanting "Neverlands", "Magic Woods", and islands. Those, who wish to seek a momentary respite from the dullness of life, have every opportunity to frequent these regions and relax there.

To those who are in a mood to transcend the frontiers of this mundane world and wish to be face with life's fundamental issues, Barrie offers much serious thought beneath the outercoating of these plays. And, what could be a pleasanter thing than to see all this in his unique world presented on the stage, or perused in the printed book.

It is unlikely that Barrie's plays would be revived on the stage in the near future, especially in view of the unfavourable critical and public climate that continues to envelop him in the present-day dramatic world. Also, most of these plays, have lost much of their appeal to the modern mind, which sneers at romance and artistic illusion, on account of their sentimentality, whimsicality, fantasy and romance, and above all their "so-called" infantile concern and their preoccupation with the idea of motherhood. But, so long as people all over the world have interest in the really "dramatic" in the eternal varieties of life and death, youth and age, supernatural existence and fairies land and romance and comedy, the plays of Barrie will have an abiding value to the reader in the closet, if not in the theatre.

Barrie's concern for human nature in its varied moods, his detached outlook to life, his capacity to provide us dramatic experience in the theatre as well as through the printed text, along with stage-directions, his humour—genial and compassionate, and his wit and whimsical cynicism will never fail to interest men of letters and fervent admirers in future. His world of drama, despite much publicized limitations, constitutes a body of work which no student of the history of British Drama and Theatre can afford to ignore. For the dramatist's conception of life and its corresponding expression through the dramatic medium, his plays are always worth re-reading.

Barrie is not destined for oblivion, though his fame at the moment be at a low ebb. "His was something of a seer; and what he saw

and showed had so little to do with time and fashion and manners that it is unlikely to fade entirely out of memory."¹¹ At a time when people suffer from "the strange disease of modern life with its sick hurry and divided aims," and made more intolerable, confused, and dull by the "absurdist" who are continually aiming at an awareness of the absurdity of life through their writings, Barrie's drama may help us in our glimpse into the real meaning of life, it may bring fresh showers of romance and fancy, comfort and charm, and might ultimately be an anodyne to the modern ills with which we all suffer. Therein lies the perennial value of Barrie's dramatic art.

REFERENCE

1. Harry M. Geduld, *James Barrie* (New York, 1971), p.170. Geduld refers to the fatal accident of Barrie's brother David in his childhood, its effects, his mother's relations and his (Barrie's) involvement with it as son and brother—all as indelible experiences. Barrie's description of this in *Margaret Ogilvy*, his mother's biography, as Geduld maintains, provides the prototypic story in which Barrie as a child tries to take the place of his departed brother David and usually attaches himself to his mother. The
2. David Daiches, "The Sexless Sentimentalist," *Listener*, LXIII (1960), 843.
3. Henry Bett, quoted in the *London Quarterly Review*, October 1937, pp.477-48.
4. Allardyce Nicoll, *World Drama* (London, 1949), pp.698-99.
5. A. G. Ward, *Twentieth Century English Literature* (London, 1964), pp.123-25.
6. Robert Kemp, "The Basis of Barrie's Achievement," *Listener*, June 9, 1960, p. 1015.
7. Allen Wright, *J. M. Barrie: Glamour of Twilight* (Edinburgh, 1976), pp. 87-88.
8. John Mason Brown, "Sweetness and Blight," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXXIII (May 20, 1950), p 34-36.
9. William McGraw, "The Theatricality of James M. Barrie," Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1958.
10. Wright, *J. M. Barrie: Glamour of Twilight*, p. 97.
11. A. V. Cookman in the *Oxford Companion to the Theatre*, ed. by Phyllis Hartnoll (London, OUP, 1967), p.84.



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Man and Mind : The Universe

Alun Llewellyn writes in *Aryan Path*

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Man cannot determine the meaning of his own life without attempting to weigh the meaning of the Universe which surrounds him. The earliest surviving record of his speculation on the matter, The Epic of Gilgamesh, while in form it dates from about 2600 B.C., probably summarizes an even earlier record of enquiry. Man realized that his Earth was formed from the heavens which surrounded it; and so the hero Gilgamesh is set to travel beyond the edge of Ocean, crossing the stream of stars (Fluvius Eridanus) which rings it, and to mount through the constellations to seek solution of the enigma of the creation of men and of their ultimate destiny. It is still among the stars that men look for that answer.

What distinguishes modern from ancient research is that men have now realized that the apparent pattern of the night beyond the Solar System is almost entirely illusory. What we see is not the Universe as it is but the Universe as it was many thousands, many millions, many thousands of millions of years ago. For light, the swiftest possible transmitter of knowledge to our senses, is a lagging traveller over the immense distances of Space. And the instru-

ments which detect the emission of X-rays and radio-activity give a different and overlapping pattern to Space but one which belongs at least in part to a possibly even remoter position in time. The problem is complicated even further by the supposition that the Universe must, by the necessities imposed by its existence, be enclosed by re-entrant from. Light cannot escape from it, but must travel round it, and so with every other form of energy. It has been argued, therefore, that what we detect in the heavens may be a reduplication in space as well as a duplication in time. What is certain is that we can tell what was; we do not, except within relatively narrow limits, know what is. Neither can we know precisely in what form the concealed present will impose itself on our future. Our physical sight, even when extended telescopically or supplemented by radio-telescopes, gives us nothing but illusion; and the mind has now to repeat on a cosmic scale what it has achieved for conditions on Earth, the perception which replaces illusion with vision.

The effect of human habits of thought in both concept and deduction upon Man's interpretation of the Universe is hard to avoid. Plato made the point that men say "was," "is," "will be," but that in truth is alone can properly be used. The unquestionable success of mathematical calculation in exploring the Solar System lends force to Jeans's comment that the Universe is less of a great machine than a great thought.

To re-state the position: events have already occurred in the Universe the effects of which and the knowledge of which will come

to us in our future. It is in this sense that Time is relative and it is only within our own frame of reference that our future can be thought of as predetermined. The Universe has a past and a future of its own. In a parallel way, we can record the motion of a subatomic process in a fraction of a billionth of a second, but that "life" is merely the duration of our perception of it; the process itself might be infinite and eternal. It has been well proposed (by Hoffman) that protons and electrons do not operate in space and time; space and time work within the area which these "wavicles" possess. For men's thought, which can be electronically recorded on an encephalograph, is itself a process of "wavicles" within "wavicles."

Two interpretations of the history of the Universe have been argued on the basis of subatomic research. The first, that matter is not only indestructible but that it is constantly being injected into or produced within the Universe (Steady State theory). The second, that it began as a single concentrated Atom whose convergence of energies forced it to explode and scatter, a rapid dispersal still continuing but which must inevitably end in a crushing re-concentration upon a single point from which a new explosion must result (Big-Bang or Cyclic theory). This latter belief accepts that all existent forms in the Universe must ultimately be destroyed, the destruction of the Solar System being included as a mere incident. That in a newly fashioned Universe a new Solar System and a new Earth should then be created is not accepted as inevitable. It is this second theory which generally prevails. The emergence of Man on Earth is discounted as Chance and our evolution under the pressures of a blindly causal Necessity seen as dependent on that unrepeatable Chance, by Jacques Monod, for example. The same philosopher argues that we deceive ourselves with moral suppositions as to the purpose of

existence and try to impose on what is what we prefer to think ought to be.

The Big Bang theory finds its justification in the centripetal force called gravitation, powerful enough to distort the path of light into its own field of force, which condenses the galaxies from clouds of gas, creates stars and planets as it transforms matter from light hydrogen into heavy iron, squeezes the crust of Earth in sliding plates, compresses stars into their extinction as white or black dwarves, forces the bursting reaction of stars into Novae and ultimately into the introverted negation called Black Holes. It is imagined that the inward condensation of matter and energy must reach a logic beyond logic, and all matter, space itself, and events in time be actually turned inside out. The Big Bang theory, however, fails to determine into what the "balloon" of cosmic expansion must extend and within which it must again contract; what in short is that contained and conceived the primordial Atom.

If indeed our Solar System and Earth occurred as a rare accident among the immeasurable array of molecular aggregations, the Chance of such an accident is as much a product of Necessity as any other formation. Above all, Man has appeared; and his appearance is a fact which he is forced to accept. What modern research tells us is that energy produces light, light produces matter, matter produces brain, and brain, mind—another light which examines itself, its origin, and its direction. The future growth of mind is for mind to determine, to know what is and from that knowledge test what ought to be. Faced with the challenge of the Universe from which he is born, Man must exercise his unique faculty of creating a future to give deeper resolution to the statement of the Greek Parmenides: whatever can be thought can be.

Publication Of Buddhist Studies In Russian

Moscow (APN): The translation into Russian of the first two parts of *Abhidharmakosha*, anthology of Buddhist canons, and the terminological study of them have been completed, while the study of the third part of the encyclopaedia entitled "Buddhist Cosmology" is under way. The complete study of semantics and of terminological correspondences on the basis of *Abhidharmakosha* Vasubandhu will make it possible to interpret the canonical *Abhidharma* itself, which is available only in Tibetan and Chinese translations.

The research is performed by Soviet Buddhologist Valery Rudoy on the basis of the comparative analysis of the original Sanskrit text of *Abhidharmakosha* (a philosophical encyclopaedia of Northern Hinayana entitled Vasubandhu (the 5th century A. D.) and its Tibetan and Chinese translations. The purpose of the research is to determine the meanings of the keywords (terms) which are variants of the description language used in Buddhist philosophical and psychological texts and to establish unambiguous Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese terminological similarities.

Another important addition to the study of Buddhology in the USSR is the further publication of the Sanskrit texts in Brahmi script which were found by Russian scientists in Central Asia at the beginning of the century. Among these manuscripts there are many Mahayana sutras (fragments of *Maṭṭiparinirvāṇasūtra*, *Pradīpāyānapāramitā*, *Saddharmapundarikī*), which are of extreme significance for Buddhist textology. At present Soviet Buddhologist M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya has prepared for publication the 30 fragments of *Saddharmapundarikī* which form the Central Asian version of this sutra. Thus the preparatory work of

compiling a critical text of one of the most significant of the Mahayana sutras has been completed.

Research in the field of Buddhist culture has been going on since the late 1960s at the Leningrad Affiliate of the Institute of Orientalistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The research is based on ancient Buddhist manuscripts which are kept at the Manuscript Department of the Leningrad Affiliate, on Sanskrit texts of paramount significance found in recent decades in India and Central Asia.

The Leningrad school of Buddhologists maintain that the problems of the relation between Hinayana and Mahayana as well as of the chronology of the original teaching of Buddha cannot be solved on the basis of the Pali sources alone without taking into account Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese texts. ("Cultural Life")

The Biology of Alcoholism

Anil K. Kush (in Science and Culture)

Alcoholism as a socio-economic problem with mechanism of alcohol elimination, metabolism and possible deteriorating effects of chronic alcohol intake on liver, heart and nervous system is discussed in brief.

The current definition of alcoholism denotes "a pathological state of physical or psychological dependency on alcohol". Use of alcoholic beverages by man is as ancient as recorded history. The unique property of ethanol as an easily produced substance, capable of modifying mood and behaviour, were quickly recognized and it has remained to this day, one of the most commonly used as well as abused drugs. Moreover, alcohol under a set of conditions may be useful also because of the ease with which it is oxidized in body and proves to be of high caloric value. However, the intake of alcohol in quantities that approach or exceed the capacity for metabolic elimination are often

deterious. Fortunately, the medical, social and economic consequences of chronic alcohol abuses are now increasingly acknowledged in an open fashion as serious and prevalent problem.

Alcoholism—a Socio-economic problem :

Alcoholism is a term embracing two groups of people, persons with a drinking problem and alcohol addict. The former are those whose drinking causes social rather than medical problems in their lives ; they may or may not be dependent psychologically on alcohol and it is not implied that this group invariably becomes addicted. The latter are physically dependent on alcohol to such a degree that on cessation or reduction of intake, the normal functioning of the body is hampered due to physiological and neurological disorders.

As a social problem, alcoholism mostly results in marital disharmony, since there is mostly objections to the money spent in purchasing of drinks, time spent away from home drinking and to the period of drunken behaviour. Work difficulties and contravention of the law are other problems that sprang as an abuse of alcoholism. The former has resulted in increased absenteeism and higher industrial accident rates as compared with control. There has been found a direct correlation between drinking alcohol and subsequent criminal behaviour. In fact, alcohol addiction leads to criminal population.

Alcoholism also springs up some economic problems for the people, specially in countries which are not producing sufficient amount of alcoholic beverages and percapita income of the countrymen is low. Alcoholic beverages being costly, there, in addition to health hazard, they grasp a major share of consumer's income also. In such situations the people with drinking habit generally

switch to less expensive forms of alcohol, possibly supplemented by methylated spirit, which are more harmful than pure ethanol itself.

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Israel-Egypt tourism getting under way

What are the problems and prospects of developing Israel-Egypt tourism in the wake of the peace treaty between the two countries? Diana Lerner has no doubts about the desire of people on both sides of the border to visit the newly-accessible neighbour state. She warns us, however that though it will happen, it won't happen overnight as far as mass tourism is concerned.

The Gates between Egypt and Israel are open, the flag of peace is flying, but the caravans of travelers between the two countries were yet to cross the desert in significant numbers in the year 5739.

The slowness of getting an Egyptian visa, the absence of a direct land or air route to Egypt from Israel, the delay in coordinating travel arrangements by other routes, the shortage of reasonably priced hotel rooms in Egypt meeting minimal standards of convenience—all these are hampering what is expected in time to become a burgeoning tourist market.

Nevertheless, slowly but surely a new era of tourism is being ushered in, based on a deep desire of the population on both sides of the border to meet, and a longing of potential tourists around the globe to explore a new tourist destination. Tour operators from all parts of the world, swamped with requests about a package that will combine visits to both countries, Egypt and Israel, in one trip, are optimistic that mass tourism to the region is not far off.

DARING TO GO

Movement has already started, and is

expected to continue in greater volume, from Israel to Egypt rather than the other way round. This fact has been deplored by Egyptian diplomats who were recently in Israel for autonomy talks. Taken on a sightseeing tour of Dizengoff and apparently impressed by the sights of Israel's most sophisticated promenade, Minister Butros Ghali expressed an ardent wish that tourism in his country to Israel would be speeded up, so his countrymen could see the smart shops and beautiful Israeli women....

Israelis are the travelling-est people in the world, declares Michael Gidron, director of information of Israel's tourist administration, and are ready to overcome all obstacles to visit a land that has been closed to them for thirty years. For some it is a return to a home they knew, to tens of thousands of others it is an exciting new place to explore. They are raring to go by whatever route is open to them and it is estimated that eventually about 100,000 Israelis will visit Egypt year by year.

Until the forty-five minute direct flight is available, however, they are travelling by way of international airlines leaving from Athens or Rome for Cairo, initiated by enterprising agents in Israel in cooperation with Egyptian counterparts.

TOURIST PIONEERS

In June 1979, the first tourist group, though only a handful of travellers, made history when they left the Tel Aviv marina for the 12 hour journey to Port Said on a motor yacht, Gabriella, to be transferred to bus coaches bearing them to Cairo and environs. The fifteen passengers, all but one holders of foreign passports, received a warm welcome and got their first glimpse of the land of the Nile.

Since then, organizers of the sea voyage and three day sightseeing in Egypt have been sailing weekly with small groups. The cost of the trip is \$450 and includes three nights

in a luxury hotel, travel in an airconditioned bus to the main centres, and sightseeing.

On arrival, visitors must change \$150 into Egyptian currency, "but there are plenty of ways to spend it", says Walter Abib of the VIP Travel Agency of Tel Aviv. He is already negotiating for the possible charter of a hydro-file which would cover the journey to Port Said in seven and half hours and leave more time for seeing some of the attractions that include not only the Pyramids and Sphinx, but also Alexandria, bazaars and casinos, archeological wonders, and last but not least the Ben Ezra synagogue which dates back over 1,000 years and is of interest to both Jew and non-Jew.

"Tourist doesn't happen overnight," Abib stresses, referring to his year and half efforts to start the ball rolling. Far-sighted wholesale and retail tour operators in both countries sprang into action the moment they heard that Sadat was planning to visit Jerusalem in 1977. "We realized at once that the President of Egypt would not be considering the trip if there were not a good prospect of peace," Abib says.

MUCH IN COMMON

A fever of activity began in order to lay the grounds for the establishment of tourist links. Through personal meetings at international travel agent conventions, missives circuitously routed to each other through American and European liaisons following clearance by officials on both sides of the border, Israeli and Egyptian agents have been unofficially preparing an exchange of confidential tariffs, lining up hotel rooms, mapping out tour lines and ogling the potential bonanzas awaiting tourism to the Middle East.

"We have a lot in common; we are trying to sell the same product in the same area and success will benefit us both. It will also spark a higher flow of traffic to the region and longer stays in Israel," says Abib, echoing the

confidence of Amnon Gilad, head of the Israel Tourist administration.

But it takes more than a peace accord to put tourist machinery into motion, the tour operators have found as they try to work out practical plans for arranging trips. Precise cost of packages offering direct connections between Israel and Egypt will depend on rates established by government controlled airlines and bus companies in both countries. Agents expect that eventual reactivation of the old Israel-to-Egypt railroad line and establishment of regular two-way passenger ship connections between Haifa and Alexandria will expand the tourist options.

Kopel tours is beginning to work on a seven day cruise from Ashdod to Alexandria, estimating a group rate ranging between \$1,250 and \$1,500 per person for seven days in Israel and seven in Egypt, plus sightseeing. It would include air fair and accommodations on the floating hotel for the New York-Tel Aviv-New York venture. Kopel also intends to have its own tour buses operating in Egypt.

GREAT POTENTIAL

An untoward thrust forward for Egyptian tourism may be forthcoming from an unexpected direction. Jewish organizations in the U.S. and elsewhere. The Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal office in Israel announced that it wishes to bring 400 young leaders from around the world, who will be participating in the "Yachday" mission here, to Cairo for one day. At a charge of \$ 100 a head to be paid by the Diaspora fund raisers, they will visit the Jewish community of Cairo, and in addition to bird's view sightseeing will see local synagogues and meet Egyptian leaders.

It will take two full years until we have a smooth running operation, tour operators emphasize, despite the flurry of activity in both directions to establish a working relationship. Nabi Auwad, one of the many

Egyptian travel agents visiting Israel, reports it will take about that long for the necessary hotel rooms to be readied. However, he points to the growing interest among Egyptian businessmen in seeing some of the things they have heard about in Israel and laying the foundations for initial business transactions.

Auwad also reports on the overflow requests from his contacts in the U.S. and on other continents to combine Cairo-Tel Aviv travel. It will not be more expensive, he emphasizes, and has endless potential for being enjoyable to the tourist and profitable to the operator.

HOPE FOR PROGRESS

Israelis are consulting books on Egypt and travelogues, but so far there has been insufficient information on modern tourist sights for a visitor. Toward this end, the first attempt at a Jewish view of Egypt which combines history, geography, archeology and tourism has been produced by journalist Shalom Cohen. His guide book "Egypt: A Guide for the Israeli Tourist in the Nile Valley," undertakes to give a history of all points of contact between the Egyptian and Jewish people from Biblical days to the present and includes practical pointers on where to go and what to see. Bred and educated in Cairo, Shalom Cohen returned in December 1977 to the scenes of his boyhood soon after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. He is hoping to find a publisher for the book in English, French and German, so that he can present "the Jewish and Israeli point of view," to all comers.

Meanwhile, mass tourism between Israel and Egypt, with its great potential on both sides, still remains a prospect for the future rather than a project for tomorrow. Whether the plans are converted into reality sooner or later depends not only on practical matters like prices and the availability of suitable

rooms, but also on political developments in Israel-Egypt relations. The year ahead is hoped and expected to see real progress in both of these areas.

Meetings With The Dead

I am sure that the ability to see the dead is a faculty that some people possess on special occasions. In the August 1977 issue of *The Theosophist*, 'A Tale of Magic and Possession' interested me very much. Like Patrick Brannon, I and others I know have many times met and spoken to the departed. When I told my friends that I had seen my husband after his death, they shook their heads and wouldn't believe me. When I told my children they became very happy at the thought that their father was still alive after his physical death.

When my children were small, they had a kind nurse to take care of them while I was teaching. One summer I had gone to stay for a few days in the mountains with my husband's family. One day I felt very uneasy and went alone climbing among the hills. Suddenly the nurse appeared and I went forward to welcome her. Then I realized that her feet were not touching the ground; she was standing in the air. She smiled at me and said, 'Please go to my mother and tell her I am happy.' I promised to do so and she disappeared. Full of wonder I went down to the house. There a telegram awaited me. Our nurse had been killed in an accident.

Many years afterwards, I was sitting at my husband's deathbed. A friend of his had promised to come, and visit him when he returned from sea. He came, indeed, but after death. There had been a great storm and the ship had been wrecked. The newspapers were unable to say where it had gone down but my husband, being on the border between life and death, was able to tell us.

That evening, it was blowing a gale around the house and the doors were slamming. My husband's friend and a shipmate came in and stood at the foot of the bed. 'Your friend is here as he promised,' I said. 'Yes, I know,' my husband answered. 'Is there anything I can do for you?' I asked. 'Please,' said the sailor, 'give my love to my wife and daughters.' Then he put on his cap and he and his comrade went out of the room. I cannot remember whether they opened the door or not. A woman friend, who was sitting at the

other side of the bed, did not see our visitor nor hear his voice. She had only heard—with considerable surprise—what my husband and I had said. The next day I called on the widow and with tears in her eyes she listened to what I had to tell her.

Soon after that, in the early morning, my husband died. I had been holding his hand, feeling his pulse and praying. My eldest son was sitting at my side; we were both conscious of music in the air. My daughter, who was at school several miles away and, according to her father's wishes, had not been summoned, told me afterwards that she had felt a great sense of happiness when she awoke that morning.

Other members of the family laid out the dead body and placed it in its coffin while I went to bed. Suddenly my husband appeared at my bedside and asked me to look at what they were doing. I returned to his room and saw that they had closed the coffin. I had the lid taken off at once. Friends came to see the body that was lying with a countenance full of happiness.

On the day of the funeral, while we were all gathered around the grave, I couldn't weep for I saw my husband standing opposite to me, fresh and sound in the green military coat he had been in the habit of wearing every day. Afterwards, some of his pupils came to the house and played their instruments so beautifully. I felt the nearness of my husband but I could see him no longer.

Once I saw a headless man coming up my staircase. At the same moment the telephone rang and my sister-in-law told me that her husband had collapsed and died as the family were picking berries in the wood. I turned around and my brother-in-law was standing beside me—now with his head on! 'Why have you come to me?' I asked. 'Go on towards your higher development.' He disappeared. Later on, while his widow and I were visiting the grave, he showed himself but disappeared almost at once.

A Swedish friend of mine told me that after her old mother died, she was still to be seen wandering about the house. My friend told her doctor who was certain that she had lost her mind. Fortunately, someone else was able to convince the doctor that such things sometimes happen to Theosophists!

Founded by : RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER



1979

Vol. CXXXXXI No. 3

Whole No. 861

NOTES

Trade in Human Beings

A study of man's behaviour through the ages will always bring one across cases of trade in human beings of different types. A very common form of such sales was the sale of prisoners of war. When one monarch conquered the territory of an enemy country, he usually permitted his soldiers to pillage and loot the cities of the conquered state and his military officers usually took away many men and women as slaves whom they normally sold in the slave markets of their own country when they went back home after their victorious adventures. As many of these captured men and women were from the noble families of the vanquished land some of them quite frequently made a place for themselves in the courts of the conquerors. They even did intriguing and took part in dynastic gambles. Some times they managed to capture political power and became members of ruling cliques. Thus

slaves have been known to become generals, queens and on occasions to wear a crown and sit on the king's throne. A number of such prisoners of war had been known to possess those rare qualities which great generals, consorts of ruling monarchs and powerful heads of ruling dynasties possessed and the fact that they were slaves to begin with did not stand in the way of their advancement in court or in the battle field.

The courts of the ancient pattern no longer exist, nor are captured soldiers or the women of the defeated nations carried away as slaves. But trade in human beings continues in different manners and for purposes which are outwardly not of the ancient type. When a country is conquered now a days the victors put in armies of occupation in the cities of the defeated states and many military officers of the occupying forces stay in the houses of the vanquished people, usually the houses of well to do persons. Naturally the occupiers throw

their weight about and take advantage of the subdued gentry. Their women often have to accommodate these officers in many ways, not always demeaning manner but in ways that they would not normally do for guests staying with them. Many a marriage takes place between these officers and the women of the occupied territory and there are also cases of women apparently migrating to other lands from the occupied countries for the purpose of marriage, service, religious missions etc. which not customarily were factual. A sort of white slave trade went on at times in the guise of perfectly legitimate purposes and such women have been found in far away countries, not always in respectable occupations, though initially they had come out of their home lands to get married or to be engaged in good jobs. A number of such cases were discovered in Brazil or Argentina after the second world war and there must have been many such cases in other places. After a war many cities are destroyed and large numbers of orphans and destitutes through the half destroyed centres of habitation. Evil persons organise the virtual sale of these helpless persons who are shipped out to countries where they could find refuge and work. These constitute a sort of slave trade.

Apart from war time or post war developments, we find in peaceful setting in normal circumstances many orphans, destitutes and unwanted persons who are exploited by traders in human beings. Thousands of boys and girls are sent out of their motherland to far away foreign countries every year to be adopted by childless persons or to be brought up as workers or to fulfil purposes which may or may not be free from blemish. We are told that thousands of Thai children are sold annually to outsiders who go to places where there is lack of people and a ready demand for children from persons who seek to adopt them. There are many other countries which

send out men, women and children to other lands with idea that they will settle down in their new homes and will thus reduce the pressure of population in their land of origin. Thousands of Indians have thus gone to the West Indies, Canada, Ceylon, Africa and other countries. The Chinese also migrate in large numbers and they are found settled in Malay, Mongolia, Tibet and other countries. Hundreds of thousands of Africans have been captured and sold as slaves in the past ages and they are living in their millions in the United States of America and in other countries as free men. There is no slavery, nor any slave trade or slave market in the world; but there are places of illfame and other organisations which secure women and men for purposes which are not always in keeping with the highest standards of human dignity and basic morality. There are many human institutions and social customs which too appear to lower the standards of human ways of life. The dowry system of India for example which is a way of buying husbands or wives as the case may be, is an atrocious method of fulfilling a perfectly normal social purpose; but unsempuious men and women have turned it into a highly objectionable practice. There are other instances of selling persons as bond slaves etc. which too should be totally abolished. But human decadence is a social disease which spreads with a mercilessness that cannot be controlled by a handful of reformers. There have been attempts to clean up the mass that man has made of man since time immemorial but not much success has been achieved inspite of the best efforts of great reformers. We believe the sale of women and children goes on unabated in many apparently progressive countries and that there is not such social condemnation of the age old customs which are found in many countries to cover up what really is slave trade and the sale of women and children.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN INDIA: THE UNFULFILLED TAX

T. CHAND MOHAN REDDY & Dr. SIVA SUBRAHMANYAM

In the early Vedic and Upanishadic times, although the society was a patriarchal one, a female once born, was entitled to all the privileges that are given to a male.¹ The female was not deprived of education, and along with males, she studied the Vedas and Vedangas, and other subjects. Moreover, the *Upanayan* and *Savithrivachana* which means initiation to sacred knowledge, were performed for girls as well as boys. Thus there was no discrimination on the basis of sex.

There are several references in the ancient literature to the place accorded to women in the sphere of education. For instance, not less than twenty women were among the composers of Rig Vedic hymns.² According to Bhavabhuti, Atreyi studied Vedanta in Valmiki's Ashrama along with Lava and Kusha, the sons of Sri Rama. Atharvana Veda went so far to say that a maiden was not entitled to marry until she has completed her student life. Some women excelled men in education. Brihadaranyaka Upanishad gives an instance of Gargi challenging Yajnavalkya. There are also ample references to women such as Vachaknavi, Maitreyi and others who achieved high eminence in logic, poetry, philosophy, grammar, etc, and participated in learned discourses with men. Such learned women were variously called. *Brahmavadinis*³ are the women who have attained the knowledge of Brahman; *Mantravid* are the women who know mantras, that is, vedas; and *Pandita* was a title given to learned women. In Ramayana, for instance, Kausalya, the mother of Sri Rama; and Tara, the wife of Vali, are described as Mantravid. Similarly,

in Mahabharata, Draupadi is described as Pandita. It is difficult to fix the exact period as to when deterioration in the social status of women started. However, it appears that by the time of Manu and Yagnavalkya, the trend had set in. The relatively liberal attitude of Buddhism, Jainism and rebel sects such as the Tantric and the Lingayat toward men could do little to counteract the dominant attitude of the subjugation of women. The decline in the status of women was reflected in customs pertaining to religion, property and marriage; concepts of women's role in the family; basic attitudes with respect to the social image of women; etc.

II

Let us now briefly deal with British educational policy towards women in India. Indubitably, prior to the British efforts to introduce education for women in India, the Christian Missionaries and some enlightened individuals had initiated some work in this direction. However, their efforts were a mere drop in the ocean and could not appreciably advance women's education. Lord Dalhousie, while taking charge of the Bethune School declared that 'it is the opinion of the Governor General-in-Council that no single change in the habit of the people is likely to lead to more important and beneficial consequences than the introduction of education for their female children.'⁴ This declaration of Lord Dalhousie was in fact the forerunner of the famous Wood's Education Dispatch of 1854 which laid down the encouragement of female education as the official policy. Thus, for the first time, in the Dispatch that it was officially

decided to give support to women's education.

The next event in the history of women's education took place in 1882 when the Education Commission, headed by W. W. Hunter was appointed. The Commission, *inter alia*, recommended, that grant-in-aid should be given to girls' schools. and further observed that whenever local bodies were ready to take charge of education of women, they should be allowed to do so.⁵

During the interval between Wood's Dispatch of 1854 and the Hunter Commission of 1882, a few Universities were established in India. In 1857, the Universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were started but their doors were still not open for women. It was not until 1882 that an Indian University conferred a degree on its first woman graduate. Several obstacles stood in the way of spreading women's education during the 19th century of which purdah, the practice of child marriage, and the tradition of restricting the activity of women to domestic sphere, deserve mention.

It is only in the 20th century that women's education has received proper, though not full, attention. In 1904, Lord Curzon realizing the illiteracy among Indian women, collected more funds for the advancement of women's education. The Hartog Committee appointed in 1928 recommended measures for improving the state of women's education.⁶ Thereafter, in the phase of Congress Ministries in various provinces in 1937, efforts were made to tackle the problem of education of adult population which included female education also. During this period, a number of institutions run by women themselves for their own welfare were established.

III

After India achieved Independence in 1947, the problem of women's education received adequate attention and efforts are being made

by the Government to enlarge educational opportunities to women.

We shall now look at the progress achieved in the field of women's education during the Post-Independence era.

In spite of the significant strides made in women's education since Independence, the problem has not been solved as yet. Statistical data demonstrate the gravity of the problem. The female literacy rate increased from 7.93 per cent in 1950-51 to 18.44 per cent in 1971, and the number of literate females per thousand males rose from 299 in 1951 to 435 in 1971. In absolute terms, the number of literate females in India increased from about 14 millions in 1951 to about 49 millions in 1970-71. The rate of increase in literate female population during these two decades was thus 250 per cent. In contrast, the female population in India increased from 175 millions in 1951 to 264 millions in 1971 showing an increase of only 51 per cent. This indicates that the rate of increase in female literate population is significantly higher than the corresponding increase in female population between 1951 and 1971.

Again, the total enrolment of girls at all levels in educational system rose from 6 millions in 1951 to 30 millions in 1971 registering an increase of 400 per cent over the period. Similarly, the number of girls enrolled per one hundred boys increased from 33 in 1951 to 54 in 1971.

These statistics, though indicate the progress made during the period 1951 to 1971 in the sphere of women's education, do not however eclipse the basic problem. In spite of the significant progress achieved, the literacy rate among female population is still very low compared to that of males. According to the 1971 census, while the literacy rate among males was 39.51 per cent, the corresponding rate among females was 18.44 per cent. Moreover more than two-thirds of the

illiterate women are in the 15-24 age group and over 85 per cent. of the illiterate women in the 25+ age group. In absolute terms, the total number of illiterate females in India rose from 162 millions in 1951 to 215 million in 1971—the increase over the period being 33 per cent. In contrast, the increase in the number of illiterate males during this period was only 23 per cent.

Moreover, there is an imbalance in the literacy rate between urban and rural population in India. In 1971, in the urban areas whereas the literacy rate among males was 61.55 per cent, the corresponding rate among females was 41.91 per cent. In the rural areas, while the literacy rate among the males was 33.77 per cent, the corresponding rate among females was only 12.92 per cent. Furthermore, the literacy rate among female population, both urban and rural, was 18.44 per cent which shows that the literacy rate among female population in the rural areas is lower than the All-India rate of 18.44 per cent. Besides, the literacy rate among female population in the country was 23.60 per cent which is lower than the All-India Literacy rate of 29.34 per cent. The 1971 census shows that, among the total literate persons in India, literate males account for 70 per cent, while literate females account for the remaining 30 per cent. There are also inter-state and intra-state imbalances in female Literacy rates in India. For instance, female literacy rate varied between 54.31 per cent in Kerala and 8.46 per cent in Rajasthan.⁷ Among the Union Territories, it varied between 54.35 per cent in Chandigarh and 3.71 per cent in Arunachal Pradesh. A district-wise profile shows that in the rural India, of the 352 districts in 1971, the rural literacy rate was between 7.5 and 10 per cent in 55 districts, between 5 and 7.5 per cent in 58 districts, and was below 5 per cent in 83 districts. This

indicates that the percentage of rural female literacy has been less than 10 per cent in as many as 196 districts or over 55 per cent of the total number of districts in rural India.

Certain areas which sometimes cut across state boundaries exhibit concentration of the lowest rural female literacy. This is the case mostly with Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Karnataka. One important factor for this may be the fact that these areas are characterised by a high ratio of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes or both and the general backwardness of these regions. Due to poverty, women in these regions and communities are, of necessity required to work for long hours to eke out their livelihood. Their children also join some kind of economic activity from very early age to be helpful to their parents. Consequently, the relationship between their economic condition and lack of education among rural female population becomes all the more obvious.

Within the states, again, the female literacy rate varies among various districts. For instance, in Andhra Pradesh⁸, while the female literacy rate in Hyderabad district was 21.56 per cent, it was only 6.48 per cent in Adilabad district. In Uttar Pradesh, while the female literacy rate in Dehradun district was 35.85 per cent, it was only 4.85 per cent in Easti district.

The statistical data show that, in the sphere of education females still far lag behind males and that the problem is acute in the rural areas compared to urban areas.

IV

Obviously, women's education will have salutary effect on the national economy. In the first place, educational level of women has an important bearing on their age at marriage. That there exists a positive correlation between age at marriage of a female and her literacy is

now empirically established. In India, the mean age at marriage for female in 1971 varied between 15.2 and 20.9 years among different states⁹. It varied between 16.3 and 21.6 in urban areas and between 14.7 and 20.7 years in rural areas among the states. In Kerala, for instance, the mean age at marriage for females was 20.9 years while the female literacy rate in that state is 60 per cent, thus occupying the first place in both among the states in India. The differences observed in the mean ages at marriage for females between rural and urban areas among the states in India, could, according to Pathak, be attributed to the difference existing in their literacy levels rather than to the differences in the degree of urbanisation and per capita incomes among the states.¹⁰ In a country like India where the marriage age and literacy rate among the females are comparatively low, long schooling of the girls that confines them to education will increase their age at marriage thereby reducing their reproductive period. As a result, fertility rate which is already high in India is likely to register a downward trend. A higher age at marriage substantially facilitates a reduction in the birth rates as demonstrated by Coale and Tyell. Similar conclusions have also been arrived at by various studies conducted in India. For instance, Agarwala concludes from his studies that a decline of 10 to 14 per cent in birth rate could be brought about within a period of three decades if the age at marriage for females is raised to 20 years¹². Similarly Talwar and Seal are of the view that the birth rate in India would decline from 42.6 to 36.4 in 30 years if the age at marriage for females is raised to 18 years¹³.

Women's education has another impact, closely allied to the above, on family size. Size of a family is a function, *inter alia*, of education, particularly among women. Education is bound to change the outlook and

attitude of a married woman in favour of a limited family size. Empirical studies also substantiated the view that the average size of the family of an educated woman is smaller than that of uneducated women. In fact, educated women in India are now more aware of the need for limiting their family size.

Moreover, of late, more and more educated women are seeking employment in India with a view to supplement their family income, thereby indirectly contributing their talent to the task of national development. The exigencies of their employment do not enable them to have a large family.

Furthermore, women's education is also likely to eradicate several belief systems prevalent among Indian women. Besides freeing the women from their traditional beliefs and inferiority complex, education makes them aware of their rights and duties and enables them to achieve economic independence and to have courage to face risks that may be felt them for reasons beyond their control. Likewise, some of the existing social evils such as dowry system and casteism are also likely to be removed through women's education.

V

The next issue that confronts us is what are the factors that hinder the progress of women's education in India? Though the panacea for this painful problem are too many and too complex to narrate, let us briefly mention a few important among them.

In the first place, the segregation of women in many aspects of social life makes many parents unwilling to send their daughters to co-educational schools. Many rural areas cannot afford to have separate girls' schools in view of the small number of girls in individual villages. Where such schools exist, they are often located at considerable distance from each other. The difficulties in transport and the reluctance of parents to send girls unescorted over long distances, causes apathy or

reluctance among parents to send them to school. Secondly, the traditional values still dictate that the major role that a woman is expected to play is that of a wife and a mother. Marriage being a social compulsion for women in India, parents of girls do not attach greater importance to female education.¹⁴ Parents are more concerned about the marriage rather than the education of their daughters, for two important reasons: the first is the apprehension that, the higher the level of education of their daughters, the greater will be the difficulty of finding an equally, if not better, qualified bridegroom for their daughter. The second is the prevalence of an unmistakable feeling of distrust, suspicion and even hostility towards highly-educated women in the Indian society. Thirdly, the mass poverty of the people, especially in the rural areas, very often prevents the parents from sending their daughters to schools. Girls from their childhood are expected to attend to or assist their parents in their household as well as occupational duties. Even if the girls join the primary school, they do not continue their education for a longer period resulting in large-scale drop-outs.¹⁵ Finally, besides lack of motivation among the parents, inadequate hostel facilities, poor quality of instruction, and shortage of qualified women teachers in schools also contribute to the inadequate progress made in the sphere of women's education in India.

VI

The Government has already taken several measures in the field of women's education and the progress so far made in this direction should not be dismissed. Despite this, we are a long way off from the objective. It appears that the following measures would pay rich dividends and mitigate the problem although they cannot altogether solve the colossal problem of women's education. Firstly, it is

absolutely necessary to motivate the parents to send their daughters to schools and also to remove their apprehensions regarding female education. In this task, the governmental agencies, local bodies, and voluntary organisations should be involved. Secondly, if parents, particularly in the rural areas, are not inclined to send their daughters to co-education schools, a shift system can be introduced under which classes for boys and girls will be held in separate shifts. The shift system becomes inevitable also in view of the difficulty of starting schools exclusively for girls in villages. Thirdly, free female education should be ensured upto graduation level since making female education free will root out one of the basic causes that hinder the spread of women's education. Fourthly, the present female educational system should prepare the girls not only for a job but also for a good home life. The present bookish learning available in most schools can hardly be considered an adequate preparation of girls for assuming home-making responsibilities. Therefore, the subjects offered to girls in schools and colleges should invariably include domestic or home science. Fifthly, as an incentive towards female education, it is necessary to provide for reservation of jobs to women educated upto a specified level. Sixthly, since the existing hostel facilities for girl students are inadequate, provision on a large scale should be made in this direction. Seventhly, as a number of women teachers now available for employment in Girls' schools is still inadequate, it is all the more important to pay greater attention to this issue. In this connection, women teachers employed in backward areas may be given some monetary incentives. Moreover, the present fear of insecurity to the women employed in rural areas should be dispelled and suitable measures taken in this regard. Finally, it is difficult, if not impossible, to

achieve the objective of spreading women's education programmes in India until and unless a radical change in the mental make-up and social outlook of the people, especially in the rural areas, is brought about. Nevertheless, we should do all that we can although we can not hope to have all that we want.

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MODERN TRENDS IN THE CULTURAL LIFE OF BENGAL

—SOME ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

P. C. DUTTA

1. THE MEANING OF BENGALI CULTURE

Bengali culture shows a continuous process of development from the 12th century A.D. to the present day. This dynamic culture is a unified, joint culture reflecting the material and contemplative sides of the life of the people. Culturally Bengal, comprising the one unbroken, geographical area of the State of West Bengal, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the district of Cachar and Goalpara and the State of Tripura inhabited by the overwhelming majority of the Bengali speaking people, is an integrated unit. Culture is equivalent to creative action towards perfection of life on earth and to homocentrism. It is related to a given socio-economic setting and is an end-product of different processes for a distinct ethnic or linguistic group. It finds expression in the arts, crafts, dance, drama, literature etc. of a people and yet fashions in the ultimate analysis the totality of human living.

It has its lapses and deviations from time to time in course of its evolution and continued progress, but its basic stamp or tenor does not undergo any destructive or dangerous transformation. Through contacts with diverse people or foreigners and new forces or ideas over time and their assimilation it takes on a new contour and content regenerates itself. Culture is thus a meaningful, coherent series of attempts at refinement of the conditions of living and attitudes, and it upholds some values such as truth, tolerance, urbanisation etc.

The many religious groups such as Hindus,

Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Jains and others speaking Bengali as the mother tongue or the chief tongue and residing within the said contiguous zones have had their own common heritage; and we do not consider for our purpose Bengali culture evolving and flourishing outside this wide, compact region. The emergence of the Bengalis as a nation in the central zone opens up the prospects of Bengali culture blooming forth in many directions, in the years to come. Bengali as the State language of Bangladesh is recognised throughout the world, and this status has unfortunately been achieved, at heavy cost to all concerned and after a series of blood-baths spread over two decades for the people of Bangladesh. In West Bengal and Cachar we are yet to realise the prospects and the potentialities of our same common language as the official language of the constituent unit of Indian Union or of the State of Assam. The State of Tripura, however, continues to retain Bengali as her official language. It is hoped that Bengali will progressively get enriched as a language and literature of the 13 crores of people through easier transport and communication and also sustained exchange of ideas as a part of the programmes embodied in the cultural-economic planning for the entire region. The programmes in question would naturally be entrusted to the care and responsibility of the larger, virile intelligentsia.

II. The Centres of Bengali Culture

The nerve centres of cultural upheavals are Calcutta, Dacca, Silchar and Agartala.

The literature, philosophy and science emerging at these places carry on the tradition of tolerance and assimilation, though with occasional cracks. The people living there seek their growth and nourishment from the development of industrial belts round about them. The changes in cultural life owe their origin invariably to these urban centres. The processes of assimilation of other cultures growing at those places take their forms and texture and ultimately tend to merge into that complex, joint culture, of the Bengalis. Communalism and provincialism tend to decay at these centres only through and as a result of adequate appreciation of the other ways of life by the more educated, conscious and leading sections of the population that are found there.

It is, however, important to note that in the past the reactionery, revivalist and also reformist movements and the movement for the partition of Bengal originated and thrived at these centres. On the other hand, caste has grown to be an economic concept or income hierarchy at these places and it is expected that the synthesis of labour-capital relationship will emerge here. Again it is these centres that encourage nepotism, corruption, profiteering, smuggling and tax-dodging in the economic life and distort the healthy views on life. The misdeeds of World War II, the Bengal famine of 1943 and the partition of 1947 could be corrected only by the new life and outlook of people of these centres. In this regard it would be worthwhile to assess the contribution of men like Paragal Khan, Sri Chaitanya, De Rozio, Rabindranath and many others to Bengal culture and seek light therefrom about the future course and direction of our culture.

III. The Leadership of the Middle Class

The powerful middle class, a heterogenous social layer, fortifies and diversifies its experiences gained through increasing contacts (via

diverse organisations, academies and parishads) with the different state of the population. A social awareness is gradually emerging among the intelligentsia. And they are the prospective architects, as ever before, of the new social fabric, inspired by a judicious admixture of the ideals of nationalism and socialism.

The different sections of the middle class or the middle grades of Bengali society are constituted (i) by lawyers, teachers, doctors, accountants, government servants, writers, journalists, musicians, artists, clerks and priests, or missionaries under the professional sub-class, (ii) by merchants, partners, shop and hotel keepers under the Commercial sub-class (iii) by directors of manufacturing firms, salaried executives and technical personnel under the industrial sub-class and (iv) by rentiers and peasant proprietors under the landed sub-class. Such classification follows uniquely a given pattern of occupation and education connected therewith. Social and political workers and full time students at University levels may, however, be considered as the fifth subclass, constituting as they do, a significant proportion of the middle class.

The middle class that is divided into 4 sub-classes is now in a state of stagnation (except to some extent in Bangladesh) due to the lack of steady and adequate growth of employment opportunities. The feeling is gaining ground that they cannot secure their due means of livelihood in the absence of economic expansion and also of a new pattern of education and training that will fit in with the new job opportunities to be created in the agricultural, industrial and services sectors. Educational reform will work as a catalyst for the necessary economic development of Bengal or Bangabhumi, as we may prefer to call the region as a whole. They realise that their salvation lies in maintaining their respectability by establishing regular and abiding contacts

with the wage-earners and by securing the larger volume and the higher level of employment with increasing productive investments in different sectors of the economies. That is precisely why the different categories of the intelligentsia are forming and strengthening their respective unions and organisations, though disintegrating at times in the wake of the divisive political forces.

Bengal has come almost to forget all about her old, original concept of National Education. The business executives that have reared their heads on the basis of the principle of functional inequality have emphasised the importance and utility of English medium schools, for their wards only because of the fact that English has come to stay with renewed vigour in the existing and foreseeable fabric of our society.

The moral breakdown that has long set in among this stratum in particular permeates by now all the layers of society and all the levels of economic, political and cultural activities. In spite of the slipshod, remedial measures that are undertaken under the aegis of economic plans to stop this rot there is as yet no appreciable improvement in the developing situation. They have not been as adaptive and responsive, with necessary push and drive as they could otherwise be, to the demands of the times. The cultural leadership that has historically speaking, vested in the sub-classes requires rejuvenation and reorientation for enabling them to play their historic roles also in future. They are to initiate new methods and styles of life and also new social values. Their leadership will be fruitful only when it will be backed and accepted by the rest of the people.

Economic thinking need not be blurred in future, provided the middle grades keep to their tracks and are not invaded by fruitless violence or communal trend. It is especially the urban middle class that will decisively and largely determine in the coming years whether

the vestiges of caste distinction, untouchability and the inferior status of women will be allowed to impair progress of the integrated culture that Bengali culture is. The social or cultural lag or cleavage existing between two correlated parts of society viz. the middle class and the masses and also the city life and the country life that move at a disharmonious pace has got to be removed. To that end the responsibility of the middle class is certain and clear.

IV. Social and Economic Changes and their impact on Bengali Culture.

Universal adult franchise and parliamentary democracy are by now the current entities in Bengal. Abhorrence of some kinds of manual labour such as the work of barbers, washermen, cobblers, sweepers, scavengers and tanners is still persistent with a Bengali. Electrification of rural areas and development of modern transport are the facts of contemporary life. Inter-dining, inter-marriage, the spread of female education, the decline of the purdah, the appearance of women by the side of men in different fields of employment, worker participation in management, change in the style and pattern of dress and greetings, the growing absorption of the non-Bengalees, undue emphasis on futile or meaningless, research and seminars, neglect of competent scholarly teaching, careerism—both political and non-political, tutorial homes etc. are the features of middle class life.

There is state patronage of musicians, actors, directors, dancers, sportsmen, social workers, writers, journalists, publishers, students, teachers and specialists. Exhibition of books, journals, paintings, photographs and various cultural festival including iatras and ballads are now more frequently and better organised. The potentialities of public libraries as the vehicles of modern knowledge and adult education are being tapped on an organised scale so that the masses of the people also can

increasingly contribute to the spread and enrichment of culture. The special roles of radio and cinema, adda, akhira or gymnasium, club, restaurant etc. for perfecting the use of the creative energy of society are being largely recognised. All classes of the people responded most readily to the call of brotherhood that rang out in the wake of the waves of refugees from East Pakistan in 1921.

On the other hand, the role of priests the use of Sanskrit, Arabic and English on some religions, customary ceremonies, the system of burial and cremation, the filth and squalor of bustee life, overcrowding in schools, colleges, buses and railway compartments, prostitution and beggary of different subtle varieties are not undergoing any recognisable change or decline in recent times. The knowledge and use of English has become an almost established symbol of superiority.

Money distorts the healthy view on life. Inflation and the moral breakdown going hand in hand receive jolts from a sheer force of idealism. Poverty and injustice for the majority of the Bengali population have never been non-existent under any social system so far. Yet a beginning has been made with the initiation of the Garibi Hatao campaign to bring into existence a society without gross inequalities oppression and exploitation. The unemployed and the refugees throughout Bangladesh are a potential menace. And they must be organised and led into gainful employment in different fields of commerce and industry. The traditional, social distance between small number of non-cultivating landowner and a large number of landless labourers sharecroppers and cultivating owners has not yet changed radically enough. There is still not much benefit accruing to the landless labourers enjoying low social and economic status because of faulty redistribution of land. The achievements in this regard are very much limited in character and not far-sweeping.

There is a direct relationship between economic backwardness and social inequality, while the non-economic factor such as the ritual distance between the upper castes and the untouchables among the Hindus cannot altogether be ignored.

Again, some trades such as plumbing, conservancy, drainage, porter's work etc. have not been popular with the Bengalis, what is more, they have lost ground in respect of such callings as cloth washing, hair cutting etc. No satisfactory explanation could be given for these trends except that there is some inexplicable version to certain types of work or job among the Bengalis in general. The habits and conduct are the invariable ingredients of culture, and it is observed that they are undergoing a slow metamorphosis and the old psychological resistance to manual work of despicable varieties is sure to crumble down under economic pressure. The Bengalis are, however, spreading themselves out among the new varieties of technical jobs and semi-skilled labour, though there is no sign of any atavistic propensity to revert to the old, discarded trades and callings. They are a dynamic entity and it is reasonably expected that they will opt for appropriate projects and careers out of a sheer sense of survival in this fast moving and quick-changing world. In this regard our economic planners, Governments, and private entrepreneurs have a leading role to play by way of expanding the scope and diversifying the pattern of employment.

Within India the Special Marriage Act of 1954 by recognising marriage between different castes, creeds and races and also equal preference between male and female children, the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 by allowing for monogamy and dissolubility of marriage and the Hindu Succession Act of 1956 by adopting the right of equal ownership in property between males and females have improved the

social and economic status of women in the eye of law. Women are now found increasingly among Prime Ministers, Chief Ministers, Ministers of Governments, Ambassadors, Vice-Chancellors, School and College Principals, Librarians, Air Pilots, Magistrates, Income-tax Officers, Lawyers, Editors, Sale Assistants, Radio and Film Actresses and Police Constables in India; and this trend has had its desired pattern in Bengal, too, without any social disapproval. Yet there has been no spectacular change in the relations between the sexes that are dominated by inequalities of power.

Women in increasing numbers are now taking to Kerosene stoves, pressure cookers, sewing machines, electric irons and fans and part-time helpers in place of full time domestic servants and they are found among the urban middle-class families in particular. The urban residential colonies and flats fitted with electricity water taps, flush latrines etc. have come up with consequent changes in the mode of living and the cultural mores of the middle class.

The growth in self disciplines among the Bengalis as among others is exhibited by the queue habit at rationshops, milk canteens, post offices, bus stands and ticket windows everywhere. The major fairs and festivals are culturally oriented in urban areas. Such changes have not entirely penetrated the rural areas and especially the depressed classes.

In the context of economic growth, however, slow, there have been inter-dining and inter-marriage among the different castes and religious groups of the Bengalis including inter-provincial marriage on an increasing scale since the fifties of this century. The current, feeble trend of exchanging salutations on occasions of Id, Vijaya, Christmas and of getting into a common festive mood by buying preparing and consuming special delicacies

such as cake, korma, mistanna, etc. portends well for the future.

On the other hand, the series of exhibitions on books, journals, paintings, sculpture etc., drama and dance festivals, amateur theatrical groups, professional jatra parties, music conferences including folk songs of numerous varieties and of different sub-zones are a pointer to the continued and variegated stream of social consciousness of the middle class. Workers on the cultural front are also becoming increasingly conscious of their social responsibilities.

What is gratifying to note is that communalism and the economic collapse of the fifth decade of this century and their concomitant escapism and pessimism failed to secure any permanent foothold in the mental make up of the middle class in general and this singular fact is brought to the fore by the birth of Bangladesh in the eight the decade.

V. The Problems of Bengali and non-Bengali Cultures

The non-Bengalis, especially the educated middle class Marwaris, have not only adopted the habits and tastes of the Bengalis but learnt the native language with accuracy and distinction. The contributions of Ayyubs, Lalwanis, Fallons and McCutcheons to Bengali literature are worthy of record. The steady acceptance of the European dress by the menfolk of Bengal at almost all social layers in the urban areas and for almost all occasions has tended to reduce the distinction in dress between the Bengalis and the non-Bengalis. It is, however, worth noting that the womenfolk in this regard have exhibited by comparison a conservative outlook and taste by sticking to the traditional pattern with minor deviations. And it is no doubt a distinct class of preference for grace and elegance which has not escaped notice and admiration even of the foreigners.

The process of denationalisation or imitation of the western ways of life combined with the urge for constructive assimilation will surely pave the way for the emergence of cosmopolitan culture. It will be futile to expect that the urban culture by being divorced from or antagonistic to the village or folk-culture will thrive and be meaningful for the society as a whole. The mistakes of the past embodied in the sitting apart of the different sections in points of education and employment require to be avoided consciously while building up the new joint culture of the Bengalis; and this new culture of the future will do away with the insularity, angularities and superstitions of old village life or the old, 'Swadeshi' image of Bengali culture. Yet the new culture in many vital respects will not be completely delinked from the past, traditional culture of the region. The synthesis and assimilation that is necessary and inevitable in a way will be the conscious work of the leaders of society in cultural fields to a very large extent. The fundamental tendencies in cultural systems are towards change rather than towards a state of equilibrium.

As the Bengali and the non-Bengalis living within the region are related to one another geopolitically, ecologically and socioculturally, it is imperative that there should be freer intermingling of men and women on an equal footing and bold, regular and sufficient contacts between them—and especially so among hand-craftsmen, musicians, painters, sculptors, philosophers, scientists and literators. Only then we may hope to widen and enrich the tradition of assimilation and impart reality to Ramakrishna's humanism, Tagore's internationalism and Sri Aurobindo's universalism.

VI. The Future of Bengali Culture

Culture spreads outwards from the centre of its origin, not evenly but faster in some directions according to geographical, political or psychological factors. The crying needs of

the hour are the spread of literacy and the balancing of the apparently conflicting claims of liberal, scientific and technological education so as to make culture all embracing. The original concept of National education requires to be revived and accepted in its true modern sense for the entire region. English education as much as Hindi and Urdu languages require to be given their due recognition.

The Bengali mind and genius have for their foundation the Bengali language and literature, among other things. As long as the two will remain dynamic and progressive the Bengali culture will remain secure and productive. The rest of the region will have to learn a lot about the new and virile attempts that have already been made in Bangladesh by Bengali Academy in particular and to take the cue for advancing along similar lines to achieve integration in the sphere of Bengali language and literature, including changes in their tone and temper, their increasing awareness of and involvement in social realities. Perhaps a band of dedicated research workers it requires to be recruited and trained up in all the zones for joint ventures. If Bengali culture is to have any meaning and purpose, a new society and a new, mixed culture for all is a must.

It is probably obligatory for the existing cultural institutions such as Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Bijnan Parishad, Jatiya Siksha Parishad etc. to enliven, shape and direct the working of the Bengali mind by enlisting middle-class, educated ladies as active members and leaders in increasing numbers. It is of course, an incontrovertible fact that the inarticulate common people among the Hindus, the Muslims and the Christians have suffered most as a result of war, famine and flood and that they will decide the future of joint culture and offset the swing towards moral degradation, if any. Yet it is equally true to say that the urban middle class will remain as ever before the torch bearer of Bengali culture—though it.

may not be completely oblivious of its own class interest. Culture will permeate, weld and blend all aspects and strata of human living. It will not do to forget that folk-culture will ever remain a most important, inalienable ingredient of our joint culture, with the roles of Sanskrit, Arabic and English in some religious ceremonies being ultimately taken over by Bengali.

Reduction in the inequalities of income and wealth among the zones and sub-zones of Bengal or Bangabhumi, stability in the value of money and employment opportunities through appropriate agricultural and industrial progress will go a long way to reshape the existing type and content of Bengali culture and harmonize individual and social ideals to suit the requirements of ages in fields of thought and action. The basic propensities of keeping up with the Ramas and keeping ahead of the Rahims will, however, remain a sociological phenomenon of interdependent consumer preference. The power of appreciation and assimilation of the finer sides of life must be deeply integrated with the fields of economic activity of the people, with the

means of their livelihood. Nevertheless it is already discernible that there has been a change among the people in the perception of the condition of their living. People now have a mounting conception of what is right and desirable; and they live in a moral egalitarian climate that is different from the one they had in the past. There is, however, a high degree of disparity between ideal and real conditions.

Bengali culture of the future will be founded on the philosophy of cooperative living that is not only vigorous but also invigorating. Innovations and new challenges on the stage and the screen are being responded to by the people, not necessarily and always as escapes from boredom and stupor. Associations of co-workers in all possible allied cultural fields are in a healthy, competitive mood to criticize, appreciate and recognise one another in a dignified manner. It may be reasonably expected that the emerging culture will transform itself towards a cosmopolitan culture and at the same time retain its basic, traditional identity.

TIBET AND THE CHINESE OCCUPATION

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

Tibet is a fascinating little land, sitting as it were at the foot of Mount Everest in the mighty Himalyan range. For centuries it existed in semi-isolation from the rest of the world. Thus it enabled it to develop a unique culture and civilization blending its folk

traditions with that of India. The occupation of this tiny land since 1959 by China is most unfortunate.

The primary force that produced this special culture was Buddhism, which was introduced from India in the Eighth Century

after Christ. Buddhism plus tantric practices which were borrowed from the post-historic Indian culture and Tibet's own folk cults blended together to form Tibetan Buddhism which is known as the Vajrayan school of Buddhism. Due to heavy infiltration of traditions of its own primitive "Bon" religion, it is extra-ordinarily rich in rituals which are not found in other schools of Buddhism.

These assimilations led to the formation of a new Tibetan culture with inspiring art forms and special rituals, but its Lamanistic Buddhism retained the basic teachings of the Buddha, as he made in the sixth Century B.C.

Buddhism was introduced to Tibet in the eighth Century after Christ. This credit goes to Tibet's great monarch Sron-Btsam-Agam-Po. With the assimilation of Buddhism completely as a way of life and philosophy, it became the state religion of Tibet in the eleventh Century after Christ. As stated before, with the assimilation of its own folk traditions, it developed its own personality in expressing the Buddhist way of life, which we call today Lamanistic Buddhism. Complex monasteries were developed in due course all over the land, where the Lamas, (Monks) studied, meditated and ruled the land.

The head Lama was called the Dalai Lama, meaning the Ocean of Wisdom, who became the head of State. He administered the land with total temporal, economic and political power. In this peculiar way it produced a feudalistic theocratic (Lamanistic) Autocracy. Besides the acceptance of Buddhism both by China and Tibet, the main contacts of Tibet were India and China, which were made mainly for trade purposes. The tiny kingdoms of Sikkim, Bhutan, Ladakha and also Mongolia totally accepted this Lamanistic (Tibetan) form of Buddhism.

In 1959 Chinese troops advanced into Tibet and made it an autonomous state of China.

It is a cruel fact of life that some big powers act like bullies and occupy small states, who are helpless to defend themselves. Besides China, the Russians occupied Czechoslovakia and now she is almost in control of Afghanistan.

When China invaded Tibet, it was feudalistic. How did a country patterned on Buddhist principles become a theocratic autocracy while the Buddha always emphasised democratic principles to his followers. It may be due to the influence of Tibet's pre-Buddhist traditions.

Lord Zetland, a former British Viceroy of India, states in his introduction to his book "Legacy of India", that Buddhism helped greatly in the evolution of democratic forms of government in ancient India. The Buddhist praised the Republic of the Valijis and Licchavis for practicing democratic forms of government over their neighbouring states who were authoritarian.

The Vinaya which contained in detail the monastic code of discipline for Buddhist monks (Lamas) asked them to observe temporal affairs and leave all economic and political affairs to the laity.

Since the communist take over of Tibet its administration has become more liberal and socialistic. The Lamas are allowed to follow their spiritual and temporal path, while all the administrative and political affairs are handled by specially trained lay people.

In the pre-communist times, the Lamanist Autocracy and their associates controlled all arable land from which peasants merely eeked out a bare subsistence. This exploitation has changed vastly under the present Tibeto-Communist administration and the peasants are economically far better off today than ever before. The Chinese have improved the education, health services and have introduced

some small industries, too.

However, the hold of religion on the Tibetan people has not changed much and in consequence Buddhism is still held in deep reverence all over the country. The number of monasteries has been drastically reduced from over 2000 before to about 20 at present. The Dalai Lamas' palace in Lhasa has been turned into a museum for the benefit of the public. There is as much religious freedom as before, as China itself has liberalized her peoples religious activities. Besides the Chinese are a very pragmatic people, they will not deliberately destroy the Tibetan culture.

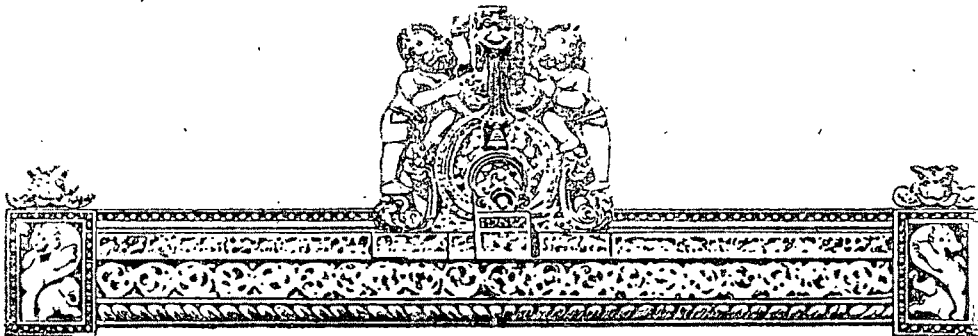
Certainly the Dalai Lama can return to Tibet if he wants to as the head Lama. But he would have no economic and political hold on the Tibetan people. For these reasons he is not accepting the Communist Chinas' overtures to return to Tibet. After all, Tibet has moved far from a feudal Lamanistic Autocracy to a benevolent socialistic democracy. Thus Dalai Lama could once again be Tibet's head Lama but would be stripped of his political and economic power. That is, he could never aspire to be the political head of the new democratic socialistic

Republic of Tibet.

The Dalai Lama was in Europe before coming to the U.S. for 49 days in September. Here in America the Dalai Lama was acting like an exiled head of state, pleading for an independent and free Tibet. But the Great Democracy of America is placed in an embarrassing situation as she cannot, on valid principles, support the re-establishment of a feudalistic oligarchy in Tibet again, but she also regrets the Chinese occupation of this tiny land.

All progressive change taken place in Tibet since 1959 from a Lamanist Autocracy to a modern society should be welcomed by all progressive people throughout the world. They are certainly compatible today with the principles enunciated by the Buddha in the 6th century B.C. It is hard to state emphatically whether communism or feudalism is the better of the two evils.

The Dalai Lama is a serene and noble monk. One should welcome him as a deeply religious and pious man. Back in Tibet he could still practice the great monastic traditions of his great Himalayan land.



TEACHERS AND EFFECTIVE TEACHING

V. T. PATIL

The recent advances in the field of educational psychology concomitant with further refinement in the technique and methodology of pedagogy, role of the teacher as a powerful instrument to bring about learning to the students harmonises with the dictum of 'teaching is equivalent to learning'. Teaching and learning are two complementary aspects in the discipline of education. Students enrol in educational institutions to learn different subjects to acquire knowledge and skills with a view to lead a fuller life through enrichment of their personalities. It is the fundamental task of the teacher to help the students to achieve their goals through the learning process. Teaching must lead to effective learning, otherwise it will not have served its purpose. Dynamic teaching leads to creative learning.

Education as a discipline has made phenomenal progress in the contemporary period because it has been able to benefit immensely from the insights of other related disciplines. In this age of inter-disciplinary approach the understanding of the process of human growth through its physical, intellectual, social and economic manifestations represents a quest of a high order. In addition to this, human knowledge about the nature, structure and goals of society has in a greater measure altered our conception of the role of educational institutions. Social systems and social patterns have undergone radical transformation, thereby necessitating a new role for educational institutions in a futuristic society.

In the Indian context, since time immemorial the teacher was given a place of prominence

in the society. According to this tradition the relationship between the teacher and taught was sanctified in lofty ideals and noble principles. The *Guru kula* system laid firm foundations for lasting respect and friendship between the teacher and the pupil. However, in the modern period the strong bond of mutual affection between the teacher and the pupil appears to have degenerated into a perfunctory relationship between the two. The reasons for such an impasse are many. It is our belief that an ideal teacher through his effective teaching and by his personal example of belief in such values as integrity, sincerity, honesty, incorruptibility may succeed in recapturing the traditional friendly relationship between the teacher and the taught.

Effective teaching is an art which presupposes a certain technique and methodology. A good teacher through the force of his personality must fire the imagination of the students to learn and imbibe new knowledge, principles, theories and skills. For effective learning presupposes the substitution of old responses by new responses. This implies that students must cooperate with the teacher for on it will depend their ability to learn in a meaningful manner. In effect, teaching is a technique, a method and a concept. Teaching "in the standard sense, is that at some points at least one has to submit oneself to the understanding and independent judgement of the learner (pupil), to his demand for reasons, to his sense of what constitutes an adequate explanation. To teach someone that such and such is the case is not merely to try to get him to believe it: decep

tion, for example, is not a method or a mode of teaching. Teaching involved further that, if we try to get the students to believe that such and such is the case, we try also to get him to believe it for reasons that, within the limits of his capacity to grasp, are our reasons. Teaching in this way require us to reveal our reasons to the learner and by so doing to submit them to his evaluation and criticism."¹

Dynamic teaching is different from routine teaching which places, a premium on dishing out information. But, dynamic teaching primarily involves a thrust on creativity of knowledge which is cumulative. This kind of teaching presupposes competent and efficient teachers. Effective teaching cannot be done without a proper atmosphere or environment for the enrichment of the personality of the student. If such a healthy atmosphere is present then such teaching is likely to generate 'identifiable regularity in new behaviour'.

Effective teachers are those who have acquired sufficient mastery over the subjects that they teach. They must also be thorough about the techniques and methodology of teaching. Teachers must have deep insight in the disciplines which they teach so that appropriate attitudes of learning can be built within the students. It must be stressed that when the teachers are well-qualified and superb in their teaching only then will they be in a position to inculcate correct attitude in the students.

Teachers must have a very sound knowledge of the content or substance whatever subjects or courses they teach, knowledge will help students to develop their personalities by systematic study of different disciplines. Efficient teaching implies that the teachers have knowledge of the technique of teaching. This means, that they should know what to teach, how to teach and with what results. Further, it also implies that the teachers have a clear understanding of the

educational process, namely, the need for teachers to establish a rapport with students and colleagues. Dynamic teaching is largely dependent upon the nature and quality of relationship between teachers and students. Teachers must have a good understanding of the play of psychological factors which constitute the basic operative variables in interpersonal relationships. In such a process, teachers must have a sympathetic and constructive attitude to the problems of students. Such an helpful attitude will enable students to find realistic solutions to their academic problems.

Teachers must have an open mind that can analyse problems with the utmost objectivity. They must be very broadminded and secular with wide ranging interests which they must frequently exhibit through worthwhile and constructive contributions to the well-being of the student community in particular and society in general. Teachers also must assist the students to make independent decisions after due consideration of the pros and cons of problems and issues. Students are prone to vacillation as they are often indecisive or change their decisions which are not based on rational considerations in the first place. Teachers also must closely observe and symptoms that point out towards psychological fixation among students. Many students develop fear of diffidence and in such cases they need help from teachers for suitable adjustment and reorientation. Teachers could play an effective role in guiding students to overcome any mental blocks that may hinder their emotional, academic and psychological development.

To make the students more responsive to their teaching, teachers should personally project a particular philosophy of life. Through their intellectual calibre, integrity, honest, creative thinking and compassion for all, they must project these high values to students so that

they could emulate them. Effective teachers are bound to be dedicated teachers who have immense faith in their work and profession. By a process of continuous introspection or self-evaluation of their abilities and shortcomings and relating them to their achievement, they can have an objective profile of themselves.

Quality teaching is a dynamic concept involving a look into the future and making suitable adjustments or modifications in the present in order to grapple with new problems and new situations. From the functional perspective, effective teaching must motivate students to learn new things by promoting cooperative learning through cooperative teaching. In cooperative teaching the students will not be mere listeners or silent spectators but equal participants in the learning process. In this kind of teaching inculcation of knowledge becomes a two way or bifocal process, instead of a one-way traffic wherein the students are merely at the receiving end. Such an innovative approach will be challenging and creative to the teachers as well as the students.² This idea clearly brings out the distinction between teaching and lecturing. Teaching is more comprehensive as it involves a close interaction between teachers and students. To explore and learn new ideas becomes a joint endeavour on the part of teachers and students. On the other hand, when teachers use the lecture method which represents the traditional way of teaching, then learning becomes a one-way process with students as passive listeners.

Effective teaching is based on the assumption that teachers adopt modern methods of teaching like the tutorial method or the seminar method. The limitations of the formal lecture method have been identified in the west and they have made extensive changes and improvements in their lecturing or teaching techniques. Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the

U.K. and Harvard, Princeton and other Universities in the United States depend upon well-planned tutorials and seminars to bring about effective teaching, through 'the art of critical dissent'. The tutorial and seminar methods of teaching as developed and practised in the West could be adopted as effective teaching methods in our higher institutions of learning with suitable modifications.³

Generally good teachers are also good class room teachers who are alive to the role of class-room management for enriching the learning process. A good knowledge of learning skills and techniques is an essential requirement for good teaching. But this in itself is not enough. Unless teachers have adequate knowledge of class-room management teaching will pose a real challenge to the ingenuity of teachers.⁴

One of the most significant problems before the teachers is to see how the vast store-house of knowledge that is being generated continuously can be taught in a systematic manner to the new generation of students. Many revolutionary changes in the modern approaches to teaching involve new methods of presentation through audio-visual aids like the TV, film-slides, micro-photographic films, sound recording, mechanical models and teaching machines. Unfortunately, these new educational methods have not kept pace with the explosion of knowledge. This pervasive fact is further complicated by the phenomena of population explosion and rapid scientific and technological change. Obviously, any new approach to teaching calls for drastic change in the existing course content of various disciplines.⁵

Teachers have a key role to play in national development. In fact, the strength and viability of our political institutions, the vitality of our democracy and the effectiveness of our educational institutions depend upon the dynamic role of the teachers that they may

have carved out for themselves. Teachers are not the *tertium quid* but the *primum mobile*, for it is on their teaching and suitable guidance depend the well-being of future generations. But if we observe closely the situation that prevails in our educational institutions, one important conclusion is that teachers have functioned as an elitist class within full awareness of their responsibility to the students in particular and the nation at large. Even as there has been a large increase in the intake of students in the higher institutions of learning, the quality of teaching has suffered to a certain extent at all levels.

Teachers are the sheet-anchor of the educational system. They are the workers who are in constant touch with the varied problems of students. The effective implementation of educational policies and programme is primarily dependent upon the effectiveness of the teaching community. As a class they are given a raw deal by educational administrators and are frequently subjected to stringent criticism by the general public because they may not be fulfilling their academic and social responsibilities. At the level of students gradual lessening of confidence in the pedagogy of teachers is a common occurrence. It cannot be denied that to a certain extent the teachers themselves are responsible for the deterioration of their image. A large majority of teachers are those who have joined the teaching profession as a matter of chance rather than by deliberate choice.

In a vast country like India, teachers constitute a heterogeneous group with diverse attitudes and motivations towards their profession. Lack of proper organisation has led to indiscipline, supreme indifference or apathy, lack of devotion and emotional identification with their profession. Many of them have not developed into mature,

balanced and integrated personalities as idealism and modern materialism have conflicting pulls on them. Some others have become the victims of *ennui* as they do not derive any job satisfaction. At the ideological plane, many of them are not certain of their convictions as they are prone to be pendulous swinging from one extreme to another. Only a multi-dimensional approach that includes appropriate organisational action suitable administrative measures and far-reaching institutional changes may help in bringing about a complete re-orientation in the psychology of teachers.

In a society that applauds material prosperity and spheres of influence, the vast majority of teachers whose economic conditions are marginal are denied a proper status in the society. For these reasons it is not a surprising truth to know that many teachers neglect their duties and do not give their best to the teaching profession. Educational institutions should not be looked upon as money-making agencies. They should be looked upon as temples of learning rather than temples of earning. Without dedication, sincerity of purpose and intellectual honesty no substantial contribution can be made by teachers. Teachers will be able to command greater respect through their effective teaching to their students who in turn must internalise the best values in the Indian cultural heritage.

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UNION BUDGET 1980-81 WILL LEAD TO REDUCTION OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

S. L. KIRLOSKAR

The Union Budget is a powerful instrument for economic development if proper measures are followed. What the Budget does to industry will determine how far it can increase exports and employment, apart from much needed production.

Let me review some of the provisions of the Union Budget which affect industries directly.

Provisions relating to "Tax Holiday" as contained in section 80J are modified so as to take care of departmental view against High Court decisions. The objectional part of the modification is that it is made with retrospective effect from 1st April, 1972. Quite a number of industrial undertakings are going to be put in considerable difficulties because of the retrospective effect of the modification. This is for existing undertakings as provisions of

section 80J will apply only in relation to undertakings which go into production before 1.4. 1981.

Section 80J will not apply to undertakings which come into production after 1.4.1981. For such undertakings, new section 80I is proposed. Under this new section, Tax Holiday is given on the basis of Assessable Profits, for a period of seven (7) years. This seven year period will be computed from the date of commencement of production. Every industry has a gestation period of 3 to 5 years. Therefore, virtually Tax Holiday benefits are reduced from existing 5 years with carry forward and set off provisions under section 80J to a period of two or three years under new section 80I.

EXPORT MARKET DEVELOPMENT ALLOWANCE

Under Section 35B, there are nine items of

expenditure allowed for deduction. In spite of the down trend in the export, instead of increase being given in concessions for export activity, even existing nine items are now being reduced to three items of expenditure. The reason given is that some people have misused this concession. It is not right on the part of the Government to withdraw any of these concessions because they will hit the present export activity in India which will reduce our exports. The need of the hour is to increase the export and not decrease. What looks to me in this change is that the Rupee expenditure that was made for the promotion of export is disallowed. It is retrograde in the sense that the Government of India's policy is to have dispersal of industries in the interior backward areas. Anybody who is exporting from the interior backward areas has to undergo lot more expenses in Rupees to develop the exports and so this step will increase the cost of large number of industries who are at present exporting from the interior. The modification proposed will be a disincentive for industries set up in backward areas. On the whole, the proposal is counter to the declared Government policy for export promotion.

The Government of India has been pressing the industry to develop their own R & D and Government of India have given concessions in Section 35. Now the provisions of this Section are proposed to be modified in such a way that there is no incentive any more to develop R & D. It seems that under modified proposal, R & D activity will be less attractive than normal business activity.

There are differences of opinions in the interpretations of the provisions of Section 35. It was the judgement of the Bombay Income-tax Tribunal which held that the Act gave the existing benefits of deductibility plus depreciation because the policies of the Government was to give concession for R & D activities.

This position is now proposed to be negated and on the top of it, the new provisions are proposed to be from 1.4.1962. This habit of making retrospective amendments will make one lose confidence in the rules and concessions that the Government of India offers. Already, considerable erosion has taken place in the mind of the manufacturers in the promises of Indian laws.

The Finance Minister has offered a new concession for in-house R & D. The procedure laid down for this is so complicated that it is practically difficult to get this concession. The Government of India's cumbersome procedure normally does not result into a positive step but generally it turns into a kind of corruption.

The Government of India has been pleading that enough investment is not taking place in the industry. The G. N. P. has gone down 3% last year. Under this condition it is essential that new industries must be started. In my opinion, there is hardly any concession given to the industry excepting one of Additional Depreciation over the Normal Depreciation in the first year of the installation of the machines. I do not think this is any attraction to start a new industry for a new entrepreneur. Consequently, this budget will not increase the industrialisation and/or increase of employment.

In the speech of the Finance Minister there is a claim of relaxation about the convertibility of the loans into shares. In my opinion, these developmental financial institutions are meant for development and not for investment and when a company stands well on its feet and going strong, the Finance Minister wants these institutions not to get more than 40% of share holding of that company. I myself do not think the money given to the financial institutions is for investment. They are for development of industry.

in the country. The present system of giving a loan at full interest and having a right to convert it almost at par value into shares is the worst part than SAVKARI. If they want to maintain the convertibility, that part of loan should be free of interest, then only there is a justification for conversion. Once the industry is developed, financial institutions should withdraw and use the capital for promotion and development of another industry.

Revival of the levy of interest-tax in relation to interest accruing or arising to the banks and the financial institutions will increase the lending rate and thus an additional disincentive to the trade and industry. This is a direct increase of cost on the manufacturer and subsequently an encouragement to inflation.

With a view to encourage dieselisation of tax's full excise duty exemption is extended to diesel engines used for conversion of petrol

driven taxis. The diesel engine manufacturer is hit by this exemption, in as much as it will be impossible for him to obtain any set off for the excise paid by him on the supply of his ancillaries which make the diesel engine his end product. This either will discourage ancillary or will increase the cost of the diesel engine to the user to the extent of the excise duty the manufacturer will have to pay to his suppliers.

The excise exemption is allowed on bicycles, sewing machines, T. V. etc., but this is a very small portion of business.

In the name of common man, the budget attempted to reduce the prices of a few items. The common man wants employment and increase in the income rather than such price reduction gimmicks on a few items. By not giving any encouragement either to the Industry or to the Export, the possibility of increasing the employment opportunities has certainly gone down.



PLEA FOR CO-OPERATION BETWEEN INDUSTRY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

SANTOSH KUMAR DE

Philanthropists and great patrons of learning like Sir T. N. Palit, Dr. Rashbihari Ghosh, Viharilal Mitra, Premchand Roychand and others having accumulated huge fortunes made generous gifts of money to universities in the early part of the 20th century. We should not expect now-a-days such gifts running into millions from a single donor. Their race is dying, if not dead, as the progressive income tax, death tax, super tax etc have almost dried up the source of savings; consequently such gifts and bequests to colleges or universities will not be available to any appreciable extent in the near future. Moreover, the declining return and the lower purchasing power of much of the investments have brought financial crises to the universities. From this standpoint, it may be said that educational philanthropy has not been holding its own, and hence this continuing financial difficulty of higher education.

The cost of higher education, on the other hand, is increasing every year which cannot be wholly recovered from tuition fees alone. So it has become a tiresome task on the part of state to finance higher education. A poor country like India which has to meet the obligations of defence, relief, rehabilitation, health, administration etc cannot spend, even if willing, much for educational and scientific activities.

Hence, it has become an imperative of business and industry to come to the assistance of higher education. It is so because every business—large or small, manufacturing or retailing, commercial or financial—benefits

both in direct and indirect way from the increase of human knowledge, the elimination of ignorance and disease, the relief of poverty and personal distress. A rupee discreetly invested in educational and scientific activities comes back with interest over the long term. Money spent for these noble purposes by business and industry is nothing but repaying their indebtedness to colleges and universities.

The mastery of science and invention keeps a nation on top and insures social, political and economic security. It is the universities, educational and technical institutions that provide the basic knowledge of know-how which passes through the stage of applied research into engineering and ultimately reaches the assembly line and the consumer. Again, it is the universities and colleges where research scholars find scope to work in an atmosphere conducive to original thinking: here they use their talents to carry on the endless varieties of pure and applied researches that help raise a nation to economic predominance and strengthen national security. Businessmen and industrialists should, therefore, regard financial aid to colleges and universities as an interest of business and an obligation to shareholders, customers, employees and society at large.

The number of graduates is increasing every year. A time will come in the near future when business and industry in our country too, will become more and more dependent on college-educated men and women like those of Europe and America. That

Twentieth Century Revolution in higher education which appeared in Europe after World War II is silently coming to our country—you may listen to its footsteps if you have the ear to hear.

Considering the responsibility of business and industry to higher education, the Council on Financial Aid to Education was founded in America to finance higher education. This Council was founded by businessmen and is financed by some of the most respected foundations—the Fund for the Advancement of Education, Sloan, Carnegie and the General Education Board.

The financial support by business corporations in America to educational institutions is between 6 and 8 per cent of their revenue. The total is between \$ 75 million and \$ 90 million annually.* The American business corporations have now realised that unless a substantial portion of the talented youth of America undertakes teaching work in colleges and universities they will forfeit much of their ablest manpower, and production will be hampered. So they are trying to increase average college faculty salaries by 25 per cent.

Mr. Henry Ford, second chairman of the board of trustees of the Ford Foundation realised the relation between higher education and success in industry, and as such he set aside \$ 50 million to help raise the salaries of teachers in private colleges and universities.

To draw the talented youth to the profession of teaching Mr. Ford said :—

"All the objectives of higher education ultimately depended upon the quality of teaching. In the opinion of the foundation trustees, private and corporate philanthropy can make no better investment of its resources than in helping to strengthen American education at its base—the quality of its teaching.....

"Industry, commerce, government, the

arts, the sciences and the profession—indeed our whole way of life—depend heavily upon the quality of our education. Recognizing this fact, the trustees of the Ford Foundation want to do everything they can to emphasize the cardinal importance of the college teacher to our society."

But this \$ 50 million was too inadequate to restore professors' salaries to their 1939 purchasing power. So John D. Rockefeller gave stock valued at \$ 50 to the General Education Board for faculty of salaries.

When Andrew Carnegie became a trustee of Cornell University, he also noticed that professors' salaries were lower than the wages of clerks of his office. So he established the Carnegie Institution for the Advancement of Teaching for the improvement of the financial status of professors of degree-granting colleges. But very soon it was found that a prohibitively large amount of money would be required for the purpose. So in 1918, he founded the Teacher Insurance and Annuity Association of America (TIAA) with \$ 20 million. It has done some benefit to teachers. Altogether the TIAA has paid out \$ 119 million in benefits. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has paid out additional free pensions of more than \$ 75 million.

George Eastman, Leland Stanford and others also adopted various educational aid programmes for helping the spread of higher education.

We have cited here the instances of Ford, Carnegie, Rockefeller and other nineteenth-century capitalists of America just to point out our finger at Tatas, Batas, Birlas and others of our country. Here, in our country, we have great business and industrial concerns like the TISCO, Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, Bata Shoe Co, Indian Jute Mills and Textiles Association, Kesoram Industries and Cotton Mills, Dunlop Rubber Factory, Hind Motor

Co., Jay Engineering Works—to name a few—enterprises big and small who are making immense profits every year. Time is ripe now for them to realise that business is directly dependent on higher education to staff its increasingly complex and exacting operation. They have duty and responsibility to the country and the society. Why should not they voluntarily come forward to combat the financial anaemia of the universities?

These concerns get trained personnel—engineers, technicians, draughtsmen, foremen, machinemen, economic advisers, office administrators, doctors, dentists, lawyers etc. for the training of whom they have to spend nothing. If a sample survey is made, it would be found that at least 30 per cent of the business and industrial executives had college backgrounds and a considerable number of them came from high schools. They should, therefore, create foundations, trusts, corporations to come to financial aid of the colleges and universities, and establish a closer tie between industries and universities. They may make outright grants of money to colleges or universities for such as they think best without any string, or they may establish a large number of scholarships for students, found chairs in the names of the founders of the business or industry. They may undertake various aid programmes such as (a) College operating expenses and building and laboratory equipment fund, (b) Foundations to supplement faculty pay scales, (c) trusts to pay pension or gratuity to teachers, (d) teachers' insurance and annuity association, (e) funds for medical aid to teachers and students etc, etc.

To encourage business and industry to make substantial contribution to educational institutions and universities, they may be allowed by State to write off 5 per cent of their net income for such gifts

If business and industry do not voluntarily come forward to share the expenses of higher education with government, nemesis will overtake them. They will have to provide more financial aid to colleges and universities involuntarily, through higher taxation. There is no escape. India cannot lag behind other progressive countries in higher education.

In short, they are to be convinced that such expenditure for higher education is their social obligation. They have their responsibility to their shareholders and to the public as well.

Needs of higher education are tremendous, particularly in view of anticipated increase in college enrollment and mounting needs of basic research in physical and biological sciences which will promote the general welfare of the nation and will be beneficial to national health, welfare, civic improvement and security. Besides, highly educated manpower is a national resource capable of infinite development and utilization in a growing economy such as ours. In the era of mastery of the atom and conquering of space, people are realising every day that mere primary education is not sufficient—a higher level of education and culture for children is necessary, and for that business and industry must play a bigger role not conceived before.

Of course, it would be naive to look to business and industry alone for the full solution of the financial problems involved in providing opportunities for all those whom society needs to have educated at the college level. Here we have just pointed out the duties and responsibilities of the big business concerns to the country and the society.

See september, 1955, vol of Annals of the American Academy of Political Social Science

FLOODS IN INDIA

AMIYA KUMAR MUKHERJEE

Fainy season appears in India with its traditional message of flood, destruction, panic and horror. News reach us from different corners of the country about the losses of life, property and foodgrains every year. The flood massacre is not a new sequence in India. Almost every year during monsoon, it takes place at different parts of India, kills thousands of people, destroys lakhs of huts and spoils foodgrains and vegetables of crores of rupees. And every year our Governments—Provincial as well as Central—ask for public-help to give temporary relief to the flood-victims, knowing very consciously that those people will again be victimised by flood in the next year. But no concrete action is taken to save the people from the hands of flood which has become an item of routine incidents.

After the flood of 1978, which was most destructive and dangerous to our nation, we expected that our Government would be as much practical as to adopt some scientific means to tackle the probable situations in future. We thought that sediments would be removed from the bottoms of the rivers, dams would be constructed here and there, and canals would be dug in as many numbers as to form a network in the whole country. But all our hopes and ideas have been proved to be in vain as we fail to experience the least change in the unsystematic system of our Government's activity, and the dreadful appearance of flood treads our land as usual in every monsoon.

When flood appears in India, thousands of acres of land fall into the grip of waters, hundreds of people are washed away and

thousands are compelled to leave their homes and hearths and to take their shelter on the branches of trees and remain there without food for days together. Then come the rescue parties. The ministers come by helicopters to inspect the flood-affected areas; military forces are called; people are appealed to donate generously to the relief funds; one day's salary (at least) is deducted from the monthly pay of each Government official; donations in the form of money, food and old clothes are collected by the local clubs, political parties etc. But it is not so easy to organise the relief measures and utilise them in a proper way all on a sudden, particularly in a country like India. Since nothing is pre-arranged, the relief work can not generally be conducted in a disciplined and systematic way. Moreover, a big amount of money and food, meant for relief work, are pocketed by some interested groups of people for their own use as a consequence of which the relief, that reaches the flood-victims, become unexpectedly poor and insufficient. This unsystematic and half-hearted relief work creates another havoc and brings series of diseases and death to the flood-victims in the form of epidemic.

More pathetic and more disgraceful incidents are experienced when people are asked to leave their homes for some safe place and the vacant houses are looted by the hooligans who consider such havocs as grand privileges for the fulfilment of their ill intentions. This is the reason that many people do not like to leave their homes and they rather consider it better to be the victims of flood than to be the victims of hooligans.

As the proverb goes, danger does not come alone. Along with flood there appear the hooligans to loot the people who are victimised by flood, the hoarders to block the essential commodities and the black-marketers to raise the market-prices. And the groups of selfish people, who want to pocket the major portion of the relief-money to increase their personal bank-balances, always try to find new ways and means to improve their lot. Our Governments—Provincial as well as Central—watch these things as silent spectators since they have hardly any control on the aforesaid anti-social elements, and they simply make appeals to these anti-socials not to do this and that.

Under the circumstances it becomes very clear that along with one natural danger, there come several artificial dangers which affect not only the peoples of the flood-affected areas but the people of the whole India through the degradation of market, scarcity of essential commodities and the exorbitantly high market prices. And since flood is a monsoon routine in India, our national life is endangered every year which upsets all our national plans and programmes. This sort of calamity has been taking place in India for ages together but our Governments are as callous as ever.

If we go through the causes of flood, we shall find that although rain is a natural phenomenon, flood is, to a great extent, artificial. It is the duty of our Government to remove the sediments from the bottom of the rivers so as to keep them sufficiently deep. The Government should also construct dams here and there and dig large number of canals to pass the waters into villages for the purpose of agriculture. The waters may also be utilised for the generation of electricity. But our Governments—Provincial and Central—are not at all interested in doing such constructive work. The bottoms of the rivers are

getting raised day by day on account of sedimentation and a little increase of water overflows the adjacent villages and towns. But our Governments are never active in keeping the river-bottoms in proper order. They have constructed a few dams which are insufficient for this big country which is embarrassed by a large number of rivers. At the same time, due to still insufficient number of canals, water can not be made to run through our villages to fulfil the need of our agriculture etc.

In the rainy season the Indian rivers overflow and the dams also become extremely dangerous on account of heavy pressure of the accumulated waters, which, if not released may break the dams. The released water comes down with tremendous force breaking, smashing and treading out civilisation. To meet the huge losses, India has to purchase foodgrains etc. from other countries but under the circumstances she is found to be careful about her own natural resources, particularly the agricultural products which should be saved, increased and preserved by all possible means. In a routine system she leads her monotonous life of victimisation which is most disgraceful in this age of science. Appearance of flood, victimisation of people, inspection from helicopters by the ministers, grant of insufficient relief, public help, treachery, hooliganism, black marketing, hoarding of essential commodities and the exorbitantly high market prices—all mingle together in a routine manner to disrupt our national life and national stability. Added to these are traffic dislocation, breakdown of communication system (including telecommunication), disruption of postal services, electrical failures and the isolation of different parts of India from each other on account of uncontrolled flood. Such havocs have been striking us since the early days of our national history but our Govern-

ments have always taken these things in the usual sense as if flood is a customary incident. Our Governments impose heavy taxation on the poor people of India but they spend very little of the collected money for public utility in the true sense. And the Nature as well as the hoarders, black-marketeers, hooligans and other anti-social elements take privilege of our Governments' callousness.

It is high time for the Indian Governments—Provincial as well as Central—to realise the reality of the flood situation and take it seriously to put an end to our national agony which is more artificial than natural. The business-

men, hoarders, black-marketeers and hooligans, who remain in gentleman's clothes and shed their crocodile tears and take undue privilege of the flood situation, should be brutally handled as because mere appeals or verbal threatenings can not change their traditional ill-motives. The Governments, at the same time, should take scientific measures to tackle the rainy season and the river waters so that the waters, which create havoc and panic in our life, may be properly canalised for our agricultural benefits, production of electricity etc. and made to appear before us not as a curse but as a blessing.

SLV-3 : A NEW STAGE IN INDIA'S SPACE PROGRAMME

SHANKAR NARAIN

The second experimental SLV-3 was successfully launched on July 18, taking India's space programme to a new height. Unlike the first experimental SLV-3 launch, which carried only a technological payload, the present one carried a full-fledged 40 kg. Rohini satellite, RS-1, which was put in a near-earth orbit.

Although space research is among the new fields of scientific advance by India, it has already some spectacular achievements to its credit. It is a matter of satisfaction to the Soviet Union, which is the main collaborator in this field, that the cooperation between the

two countries has been crowned with such successes.

Indo-Soviet cooperation in space research began less than sixteen years ago in the sphere of meteorology. Soviet-made M-100 rockets were fired from Thumba in Kerala for weather observation. Thumba today has become one of the important points of global research and study of meteorological data along the entire meridian stretching from the Arctic to the Antarctic, helping world weather forecasts.

However, it was not until early in the last decade that a formal agreement on space

research was conceived and signed leading to the launching of India's first earth satellite, Aryabhata, with Soviet rocket and from Soviet territory on April 19, 1975. Within a week of this successful launch, India signed another agreement with the USSR for the launching of a second one. The training and assistance provided by the USSR to the launching of Aryabhata helped Indian scientists to undertake the preparation of the second satellite more or less independently, in the meantime, and was able to create a complex of facilities in the country for space research—a development in which leading Indian scientists like Prof. S. Dhawan and others played a key role.

The second satellite "Bhaskara" was launched on June-7, 1979 from Soviet territory by a Soviet rocket. Though the satellite ran into some trouble with regard to the television cameras, this has been rectified and the satellite is now providing continuous data and photo materials of great significance.

The launching of Bhaskara was momentous because it will provide data on natural resources, plants, ocean and water resources, all in the interests of the national economy. The Soviet scientists had several meetings before the launching of Bhaskara with Indian scientists and the USSR provided some systems for the

second satellite.

The Soviet Union has also provided equipment to set up tracking facilities like photographic equipment, laser instruments for measuring trajectory, and others.

Astrophysics is another field in which the Soviet Union and India are cooperating especially gamma ray astronomy, the study of which is highly important to modern space physics.

The outcome of the Aryabhata and Bhaskara launches showed that India has made a major breakthrough in satellite technology by demonstrating its capacity to design, fabricate, test and launch a wholly spaceworthy system. As was said earlier, India has already established the necessary infrastructure for an advanced space programme such as special laboratories for fabrication, ground stations for telemetry reception, telecom and transmission and tracking of satellites. And no doubt India has now one of the most dedicated and young cadre of scientists to ensure further advance in space research, many of whom had their training in the USSR.

It has been proposed by the Soviet Union to send an Indian cosmonaut in one of its space flights. It could be hoped the days are not far off when the bilateral cooperation in space programme leads to joint flight.



INDIAN OCEAN : ZONE OF PEACE OR OF WAR PREPARATIONS ?

V. BELOV

The UN Special Committee on the Indian Ocean has ended its discussion in New York on practical ways of creating a zone of peace in that region. The session is part of the international efforts to prepare ground for the 1981 conference in Colombo on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

Close public attention to the Indian Ocean is easy to understand in view of the rapidly mounting US military presence there. The US naval armada concentrated there—the largest since the Second World War—includes some thirty vessels. In addition, the Pentagon has sent recently five other landing ships with 1,800 US marines. According to the latest reports, this vanguard of the "rapid deployment force" left the port of Mombasa, Kenya, on July 31 for the Gulf of Aden. It is to be deployed in the western part of the Indian Ocean in close proximity to the Middle East. The Pentagon makes no records of the fact that it is going to provide conditions for dispatching several thousand US servicemen to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

EMPHATIC CONDEMNATION

During the discussion representatives of India, Iran, Iraq, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Madagascar and other countries emphatically condemned the unprecedented build-up of US military might in the Indian Ocean—thousands of kilometers away from the American shores. But official Washington has again demonstrated its total indifference to the clearly expressed view of the Indian Ocean countries. The American delegate, J. Cohen, did not mince words when he said that the USA would always maintain

its aircraft carriers and other strategic task forces in the Indian Ocean.

REAL THREAT

It is public knowledge that military preparations by the USA are directed and not only against the Iranian and Afghan revolutions, but they also pose a real threat to the independence and sovereignty of all coastal states. It was no coincidence that the session qualified US policy as one of striving for protectorate, for hegemonism in the Indian Ocean. Besides, Washington embarked upon this course dangerous for peace long before the events in Iran and Afghanistan. We have here a US strategic-military-political line aimed at establishing world domination, suppressing the national liberation movement and preserving opportunities for continued plundering of the Asian countries' resources. In this connection one statement is worth quoting: "We must erect our overseas defence line thousands of miles from the American mainland and be able there, not here to act quickly and efficiently....." It is an apt characterisation of Washington's present policy in the Indian Ocean. Yet these words were spoken more than 30 years ago and not by Jimmy Carter or Zbigniew Brzezinski but by Admiral of the Fleet, Ernst King in 1947. Living politicians in the American capital have fully accepted the principles of the cold war times.

US OBJECTIVES

Under cover of anti-Soviet fabrications the United States is seeking to establish control over the oil fields of the Middle East. In that way Washington wants not only to monopolise the natural resources of the region, but also to obtain a leverage with which to act in its allies

depending on the supplies of Middle East oil. This is the real cause why the USA is building up its military strength in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. "The main thing", said Leonid Brezhnev, "is that the United States has decided to create a network of military bases in the Indian Ocean, in countries of the Near and Middle East, and in Africa. The United States would like to subordinate these countries to its hegemony, to exploit, unimpeded, their natural wealth and, in the process, to use their territories in its strategic plans against the world of socialism and the popular liberation forces".

In this complicated situation the persistent efforts by the coastal states and the socialist countries to implement the US declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace are of particular importance. As is evident from the

discussion the idea is winning an ever greater following.

SOVIET STAND

As for the Soviet Union, its attitude to the reduction of military tension in the Indian Ocean, L. Mendelevich, the Soviet representative, said during the discussion, is to agree on to closure of foreign military bases and cutting down drastically foreign military presence. "A zone of peace in the Indian Ocean is to become a reality and if other major powers cooperate in the effort, he said, the Soviet Union will be ready to begin reducing its limited presence in the area, provided foreign military bases are closed down and no strategic aviation or ballistic-missile carrying submarines are deployed there."

Issued by the Information Department of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

SIGNIFICANT POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

Our President has often been described as a mere figurehead, a magnificent cipher who— is expected to act upon the cabinet—advice. This idea has, however, been corroborated by the political facts of the preceding decades. This is why, it is now popularly believed that the President has only to 'sign on the dotted line.'

But it may humbly be submitted that our

constitution does not intend to reduce the President to a mere rubber-stamp of the Cabinet. On the contrary, he is expected to play a vital role in our political governance and, as a matter of fact, in some situation, he has been authorised to assume a pre-eminent significant role. This is, assuredly, not a fanciful conjecture—but the constitutional scheme sufficiently supports such conviction.

Important Provisions

The makers have engrafted into the constitution certain provisions which indicate that the President is not required to be a mere figure-head. These provisions need a brief study :

1. Appointment of the Ministry— It is the prerogative of the President to appoint the Prime Minister and the other Ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister. There is a favourite misconception that the President is bound to send for the leader of the majority party of the Lok Sabha, But the constitutional provision is something otherwise.

In England, the appointment of the ministry is the prerogative of the King. But since 1923 it is almost binding upon him to choose the leader of the majority party of the House of Commons.¹ Of course, when there is no single majority party or the leadership of majority party is a disputed question, the King may exert his personal preference.²

But the President of India enjoys far greater authority in this respect. There is neither a conventional requirement nor a constitutional obligation for the President to appoint the leader of the majority-party of the Lok Sabha. He even need not choose even a member of the Lok Sabha or Rajya Sabha as Art 75(5) authorises him to appoint a Prime Minister on personal liking. There are only two limitations to this discretion— a) If the Prime Minister (and other ministers) are not members of either House at the time of appointment, they must, within the following six months, be members of any House ; b) and further, the ministry must, within the said period, prove that it commands the confidence of the Lok Sabha.³ Normally, however, he appoints the leader of the majority for administrative convenience. But after all, in this field he may use his prerogative as, after an election, there is no Council of Ministers to aid and advise him.

2. Dismissal—Art. 75(2) enjoins that the Ministers hold office during the pleasure of the President. Clause (3) of the Article, of course, enjoins that the Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Lower House of the Parliament. Thus, it has been suggested⁴ that Clause (2) must be read with the following clause and that the President cannot dismiss the Cabinet so long it commands the majority in the Lok Sabha. But this is obviously an erroneous interpretation.

The Ministers would hold office during the 'pleasure' of the President. Now, pleasure is, essentially a psychological factor and hence the duration of the ministry depends solely on the subjective satisfaction of the President. He may withdraw his pleasure whenever he likes and the constitution does not in any way fetter or restrict this right. The term 'pleasure' has been so explained by Mr. Justice B. C. Mitra of the Calcutta High Court regarding the dismissal of the Ministry by the Governor of West Bengal.⁵

It may further be pointed out that responsibility to the Lower House does not mean in any way that either the members acting collectively, or the speaker acting on behalf of them, can dismiss an unwanted or defeated ministry. The exclusive jurisdiction is authorised to the President and the only check to the exercise of Presidential power under Art 75(2), is not, of course, clause(3), but his capacity to constitute an alternative ministry with reasonable stability.

From another point of view, the same conclusion is inevitable. Dr. Ambedkar held that collective responsibility means that no Minister can be appointed or dismissed without Prime Minister's advice. Thus, the Presidential power of dismissal is presumably to be exercised as and when the Prime Minister so desires. But the President must not consult with the Prime Minister if he intends to dismiss the

latter. Now, the question is—whether the constitution expressly authorises the President to choose such a course. The answer to the question ultimately hinges upon the solution of one question—whether the Prime Minister is a 'Minister' within the meaning of Art 75(1). The answer is surely in affirmative and if the Prime Minister is so dismissed, the entire cabinet dissolves.

Dr. Ambedkar made the position clear when he said about 75(1): 'It would be perfectly open under the particular clause to call for the removal of a particular Minister on the ground that he is guilty of corruption, bribery or maladministration although the particular persons is, probably a person who enjoyed the confidence of the House. The two conditions that govern the tenure of a Minister in office are purity of administration and confidence of the House.'

3. Veto power—Under Art. 111, when a Bill has been passed by the Houses of Parliament, it shall be presented to the President and he shall declare either that he assents to the Bill or he withholds assents therefrom.

In practical politics, no Bill is passed without the support of the ministry and generally it is they who initiate the Bills in the House. Presidential veto tacitly means that he rejects the ministerial legislation.

In England, it is argued that the veto power has now fallen to disuse. And, practically, never again after 1708 any King or Queen of England dared to employ veto power⁶. So by long standing convention, this power has now become obsolete.

In India, it cannot be argued that as the King of England cannot normally exercise this power, so also the President, in spite of his constitutional authority, should forfeit his claim. Dr. S.C. Das⁷ writes: 'In a parliamentary government, the fate of the Cabinet is linked with that of a Money Bill; still if

the President can veto it, he is clearly independent of cabinet advice in regard to the exercise of his functions.' He concludes that this Article establishes the proposition that the President is not a constitutional figurehead.

4. Reference to The Supreme Court—Under Art. 143, the President can refer any matter of 'law or fact' to the Supreme Court for its advisory opinion. It seems that here is another contingency in which the President may act at his discretion. The President has two sets of advisers—The Cabinet and the Supreme Court. He appoints a ministry to advise him and surely it gives him advice on different issues. But what the President would do if the advice of his ministry fundamentally differs from that tendered by the highest court of the land?

Probably the President would accept the judicial advice because he knows that, as a writer⁸ has observed in a different context, the judges have a judicial approach whereas Ministers hold a political approach.

5. Ordinances: During the recess of the Parliament, the President under Art. 23(1), promulgate such ordinances as the circumstances appear to him to require if he is satisfied that political situation calls for immediate action.

Besides words 'is satisfied,' the words 'appear to him' also occur in this Article. The ministry may, of course, initiate such ordinance, but the President must be 'satisfied' and the circumstances must 'appear to him' to require its promulgation. It is obvious that the council or Ministers' satisfaction cannot be a real substitute for the President's. The Article sufficiently imply that the latter can apply his mind before putting in his signature on an ordinance. Moreover, the President is the best judge of the situation and no court can enquire into the propriety of his action when he promulgates such ordinances.⁹

5. Message : The President, under Art. 86(2), can send message, on any matter, to the Parliament and the latter with all due care consider the subject thereof. It is significant that the British King does not send message to the Parliament and that is unnecessary in a parliamentary system where the ministers are also members of the legislature. The King can if he so wishes, express his view to the Ministers and he does not require any direct access to the Parliament. But in America where neither the President nor his Cabinet has a direct touch with the legislature; this Presidential authority is the only channel through which the President can communicate to the Parliament.

As Munro puts it¹⁰ : "The President's message may not be primarily intended for the ears of Congress, although officially addressed to the body; its real destination is the ears of the whole country." Thus, it may be held that Indian President may send a message to Parliament with a view to mould opinion both inside and outside the Houses on matters in which he differs with the Cabinet. Thus, Gledhill¹¹ observes : "Surely the Founding Fathers intended this power to be an instrument whereby the President could carry out his constitutional duty to see that the constitution is obeyed and the kind of government it contemplates is continued; that he should be able when given advice that he cannot in conscience accept, appeal to Parliament, and, incidentally, to the nation." Thus, observes Basu the power given to the President to send message may appear to be superfluous unless it is contemplated that he has the freedom to send it against the will of his ministers.¹²

Dissolution of Lok Sabha : The President, under Art 85(2)(a), may dissolve the Lower House of Parliament. Normally he is to exercise this power according to the advice of the Prime Minister. In England the issue has generated a heated controversy and

it has now been recognised that the King may exercise his personal judgments and that he is not required to blindly accept the view of his Prime Minister. As Dr. Ambedkar held in the constituent Assembly, "Here again there is not any definite opinion so far as the British Constitutionalists are concerned." He admitted some scope of personal choice on the part of the king and held that, in the same way, "the President of the Indian Union will test the feelings of the House whether the House agrees that there should be dissolution or whether the House agrees that the affairs should be carried on with some other leader without dissolution." He added that the President should, when the Prime Minister should advise a dissolution, determine whether the latter was asking it for bonafide reasons or for purely political purposes.

Sri B. N. Rau also opined that this was a matter in which the President was "entitled to exercise his own discretion" so that in confusing political issues, he could have known the popular opinion.¹³ So, Dr. Mahajan¹⁴ succinctly observes : "In certain cases, he can refuse to dissolve the Lok Sabha, if he feels that circumstances do not warrant such a course of action."

Some Considerations :

The President may have ample scope to play his card in a multiparty chaos in which no single party is capable of forming the cabinet or two different parties convene majority in two Houses.

When the President belongs to a party other than that to which the Prime Ministry has offered his allegiance and when President's party commands majority in Rajya Sabha, the President may not remain a passive onlooker of the political events.¹⁵

The President has constitutional advantages. The Doctrine of Seal which is so significant in England has been denied a place

in our constitution. For one thing, the Minister are not responsible for the exercise of the powers of the President [Art.361(1)] and, for another, if the President issues an order behind the back of the Ministers and gets it authenticated by a Secretary, the validity thereof cannot be challenged.¹⁶

If President's party enjoys majority in the Rajya Sabha and if it is numerically superior in a joint sitting, the Prime Minister belonging to a different party will have a difficult problem to face with.

Dr. Pylee¹⁷ rightly concludes that when discipline of the ruling party degenerates when groups and factions undermine party cohesion, adventurous and dishonest men try to capture power and corruption tarnishes the reputation of the Government, there will be an opportunity for the President to play a decisive role. In the ultimate analysis, he writes, "it is the political climate that will dictate the use of his power."

A Re-appraisal :

Thus, as D. Basu¹⁸ rightly observes that the President is only expected to act upon the advice of his Cabinet and there is no binding provision to that effect. So, the common belief, writes B. Shiva Rao,¹⁹ that the President's position is one of great dignity but without any real authority, is not correct. He further observes that the makers deliberately did not include any binding provision upon the President and the Presidents have so far acted according to ministerial advice "only because the post has been filled in accordance with the wishes of a single party in power."

Normally, the President acts upon the advice of his Ministers. But acceptance of ministerial advice does not mean, as Sir Rau, rightly observed, a habitual obedience to the Minister's view. The President is the highest dignitary of the state; he is also the accredited nominee of the majority of the legislators.

Thus he rules the nation and represents the

nation. If he be a man of political wisdom and imposing personality, he would not passively accept his office, but, on the contrary, may influence, and even persuade, his cabinet members.

As an Gledhill even thinks that our constitution does not sufficiently guard against the President being a dictator. He apprehends that our constitution allows the President ample room to play Hitler at least for a length of time.

Thus, taking from any side, the fact remains that the President is not a mere figurehead. Of course, actual power and influence exercised by him are dependent upon the political environment and personality of the Prime Minister. As a noted writer²⁰ observes, the relation between the President and the Prime Minister is dependent on personal equation between the two. Similarly, writes R. Nagarajan²¹, The relationship between the Prime Minister and the President thus depends, in the ultimate analysis, on personal broad mindedness and the ability to see the welfare of the country. The President is not a rubberstamp of the ministry, but, as Dr. A. C. Kappor²² rightly opines, a guide, adviser and friend of the latter. The President and the Prime Minister balance each other and the former, may, in certain circumstances, refuse to accept the ministerial advice if he considers it to be patently constitutional.²³ Thus, Badr-Ud-Din Tyabji thinks that the powers conferred on the President are ample enough to enable him to exercise a most pervasive, and corrective role in the territory.²⁴

Conclusion :

Prof. Mrityunjay Banerjee²⁵ alleges that the makers did not determine the position of the president in clear and unambiguous language for which there might be future difficulties and the makers would be accountable to the posterity. But Dr. Rao points out that private papers of Dr. Munshi have

ffered him an opportunity to know the minds of the ministers. They thought that India was for the first time introducing democracy. It requires so many conditions for its success and that involves a healthy atmosphere of understanding and compromise. But the country, in the interim period, must not suffer turmoil. So the system is left elastic. If a strong party-system develops, a cabinet system would flourish. Otherwise the President is offered with ample opportunity for executive leadership.²⁶

P. B. Mukherjee, the eminent jurist, has thrown a beacon-light to the confused readers of the Indian constitution. He thinks that though the Indian President is not a dictator, yet the constitution has offered him a position of great dignity, responsibility and authority.²⁷ The learned writer further observes that though normally the President would accept the advice of the cabinet, in case the parties played the game of politics, he must have the power to intervene. Both Asok Chanda²⁸ and Dr. M. V. Pylee²⁹ admit that the President has, though in a limited sphere, some discretionary authority. M. C. Setalvad, the renowned jurist, thinks that through the President must, in the discharge of his functions, be guided by his council of Ministers, yet in 'few exceptional matters the President may be called upon to exercise his own judgment'.³⁰ In a discussion, former Chief Justice, M. Hidayatullah has observed that the President should himself define what are the exact duties entrusted to him. His powers and authority are far greater, the learned jurist thinks, than are ordinarily supposed. According to him, the President in certain circumstances might be called upon to act in his discretion. In this connexion, he particularly mentions the power of dissolution of Lok Sabha.³¹

These aspects have not always been

appreciated and even foreign writers have confusingly held that presidential position is not entirely clear.³² In fine, it may be concluded, with Dr. Munshi,³³ that 'the position of the President in our constitution is sui generis.'

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Current Affairs

IN MEMORIAM

The following is reproduced from the Indian Messenger :—

We deeply mourn the sad demise of Jogananda Das, our revered Editor, and a Trustee of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, who breathed his last in the early hours of Wednesday, August 29, at the age of 84. Founder-editor of once famed Bengali journal "Sanibarar Chitti," the late Das was closely associated with 'Prabasi' and 'Modern Review'. Also

he edited 'Lok Sevak', a daily news paper.

Born in a noble Brahmo family in 1895 Jogananda Das was the youngest son of illustrious Dr. Sundari Mohan Das, the founder-Principal of Calcutta Medical College. He inherited the spirit of patriotism from his father. Acharya Sivanath Sastri, Bipin Chandra Paul and Beni Madhab Das had cast lasting influence to shape his political thoughts and career.

A remarkable man, unique in many ways,

Jogananda Das was a genius. A life long earnest student of history, he was an authority on Raja Ram Mohun Roy's life, works and his time. Only a couple of years back he was called upon by the University of Calcutta to read his treatise on Ram Mohun Roy which was acclaimed by the press and public. As a prolific writer, he wielded his pen both in English and Bengali with equal ease and mastery. He was an orator of outstanding merit. The gap created by his death will be felt by us keenly.

Snabbily dressed, rugged looking, with locks of disorderly silvery hair, Jogananda, excelled in self-effacement, lived a life of a poor man—yet he was rich in heart, always full of warm sympathies and yearnings for the suffering humanity, an ever loving friend of old and young, learned and illiterate alike—a sort of which we shall hardly see in these days. The Sacharan Brahmo Samaj is distinctly poorer by his death.

May God grant peace to the departed soul.

LORD LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN

Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy and the first Governor-General of India, died under sad circumstance off the Irish coast on August 27, 1979. He had gone there on a holiday along with his family and his yacht was blown up by the terrorist activities.

Earl Mountbatten of Burma as he was better known was born on June 25, 1900 at Windsor, the younger son of Admiral of the Fleet the first Marquess of Milford Haven and Princess Victoria of Hesse, the grand daughter of Queen Victoria.

Until the age of 17 he was known as Prince Louis Francis of Battenberg when his father changed the German title to Mountbatten. Lord Louis Mountbatten had his education at Osborne and Dartmouth. He joined the Navy as a Cadet in May 1913 and saw two-and-a-half years' service at sea in the first World War. In 1919, he entered Christ

College, Cambridge for a shortened post-war course and then entered the naval career. He accompanied his cousin Prince of Wales in 1920, as an ADC on his tour of Australia, New Zealand, India, Japan and Far East. By 1924, Lord Mountbatten specialised in Wireless and for next nine years held several important technical posts culminating in 1931 to Fleet Wireless Officer, Mediterranean Fleet. He rose to the rank of Commander in 1932. In 1936 he served in the Naval Air Division of the Admiralty.

On the outbreak of World War II, Lord Mountbatten was in command of the fifth Flotilla the Flotilla Leader HMS Kelly, which played a significant part in early campaigns of the war around Norway and Crete. HMS Kelly was mined off Norway, torpedoed in the North Sea but Lord Mountbatten brought her home with almost her bows blown off. She went down the sea firing all her guns and the survivors were picked off the sea several hours later. His actions in command of the 5th Destroyer Flotilla won him the DSO.

In 1941 he was appointed to command the aircraft carrier *Illustrious*, and became the commodore of combined operation. In 1942 he was made the chief of combined operation with the acting rank of Vice-Admiral and the honorary rank of Lieutenant General in the Army and Air Marshal in the Royal Air Force. He was a member of the combined chiefs of staff in 1942 and 1943.

As the chief of combined operations he planned both the North African invasion in 1942 and the invasion of France in 1944. In the latter operation he contributed the idea of PLUTO (the pipeline laid under the sea) and the idea of the famous Mulberry artificial harbours which played such a vital part in the D-Day operations.

In the autumn of 1943 he was appointed Supreme Allied Commander of the newly formed South East Asia Command with the

acting rank of the Admiral, the youngest Admiral in the history of the Royal Navy, and by far the youngest supreme commander. He held this appointment until 1946, being responsible for the direction of and final victory of the Burma campaign, which earned him such a name that he was called Lord Mountbatten of Burma. (B. B. Baliga in Science and Culture).

NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY

Henry T. Simmons says in 'Science and Culture':—

The energy crisis is a global phenomenon. All nations are looking for new and economic sources of energy. Mr. Henry T. Simmons presents the American view of the problem and their attempts to solve the same. Mr. Simmons is a Washington writer specializing in science and technology. He was formerly a science correspondent for 'Newsweek magazine'.

Brazil has aroused world interest with its bold plan to cut back costly petroleum imports by turning to "home-grown" fuel to meet a large part of its domestic needs. The South American nation imports about one million barrels of oil a day, at a cost of about 4,000 million dollars annually. It can halve its dependence on foreign oil by abandoning gasoline in its cars and using alcohol instead. It has announced plans to grow sugarcane, cassava and other "biomass" on vast areas of the country not yet under cultivation. After harvesting, this plant material will be fermented and then distilled into ethanol (grain alcohol) for use in autos.

The Brazilian venture, while ambitious, seems a sensible one for a nation situated in the tropics and blessed with large areas of uncultivated land. According to Dr. Jose Goldemberg, Director of the Institute of Physics at the University of San Paolo, the nation could meet its total end-of-century need

for transport fuel—gasoline and diesel oil—by bringing an additional three percent of its land area under intensive sugarcane cultivation. This would be a very large amount of land, however—about 40,000 square miles (104,200 square kilometers).

Although many other countries are suffering as keenly as Brazil from the ten-fold increase in petroleum prices over the past decade, they will not be able to follow Brazil's example. This is the case for the United States and the other developed countries in the higher latitudes. Most of their arable land is already under intensive cultivation; their growing seasons are much shorter; and they receive only about half the intensity of solar radiation falling on the tropic latitudes. Moreover, the sheer size of their petroleum demand rules out a total reliance on a massive effort to cultivate biomass. According to C. C. Burwell of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory of the U. S. Department of Energy, even if the total U. S. annual production of food, lumber, paper and fiber were used entirely for energy, it would not be possible to replace more than one-third of the nation's total petroleum demand, now running about 18 million barrels a day. Burwell maintains that for the bulk of its requirements for fluid hydrocarbons—gasoline and petroleum—the United States and the rest of the developed world will have to resort to large scale, capital-intensive processing of coal, oil shale and other solid hydrocarbon fuel into gaseous and liquid form.

Despite the relatively limited role that biomass can play in the United States, the Department of Energy has more than tripled (to 55 million dollars) its support of biomass research and development over the past three years because of the urgency of harnessing dependable alternative hydrocarbon energy sources. The world is currently consuming its

recoverable petroleum deposits several million times faster than the rate at which they were formed by natural processes over the last 600 million years. It is clear that petroleum must become increasingly scarce and costly—to the point that alternatives, including biomass, will become economically competitive. And while the United States cannot expect more than a marginal contribution from biomass, that margin can still be significant. Based on several studies of biomass potential, the Energy Department estimates that by the year 2020 biomass might yield about five percent of the total energy the United States now consumes from all sources.

Gasohol has lately captured broad popular interest in the United States and motorists are buying it wherever it is offered for sale, at a cost equal to or slightly higher than the price of unleaded gasoline. It is a mixture of ten percent ethanol and 90 percent gasoline and it can be burned in most automobile engines without any mechanical adjustments. While ethanol contains only about two-thirds of the heat energy of gasoline and therefore yields less mileage per gallon, it has other desirable features. These include a lower level of exhaust emissions and anti-knock properties; thus it is suitable for use with unleaded gasoline in high-compression engines.

President Jimmy Carter voiced strong government support for the gasohol idea this year during a visit to Iowa, a principal corn-growing state. He observed that it might permit some American agricultural communities to achieve greater self sufficiency in energy.

"Between now and 1981, we will assist farmers and farm cooperatives to build as many as 100 plants to produce gasohol," he said. The government will provide credit assistance as well as investment and tax incentives to spur ethanol production from a variety of biomass ingredients, including sugar beets,

sorghum, alfalfa, corn, wheat and organic wastes of all kinds—urban trash and garbage, cannery, dairy and slaughterhouse residues, and wastes from large poultry, hog and cattle feeding operations.

President Carter said the United States can produce 300 million gallons (1,140 million liters) of ethanol a year by 1982, and twice that amount by 1985. But for a nation that consumes 110,000 million gallons (418,000 million liters) of gasoline annually, the 1985 estimate for ethanol production represents only about one-half of one percent of current U. S. gasoline use. Its actual contribution to automotive energy requirements would be less than this because of its energy content is less than gasoline yields. This means that even with a maximum effort, several decades would be required to realize the full fuel potential of biomass.

Because of the soaring prices for imported petroleum, some American companies and communities are discovering that they have an overlooked "oil well" in their midst. Great Northern Nekoosa Corporation, a pulp and paper company in Millinocket, Maine, has over the past 80 years accumulated enormous piles of tree bark at its sawmills. Some of these are 20 meters high and cover 15 acres (six hectares) in area. Until now it has not been possible to burn this waste wood for process heat, but thanks to new technology, Nekoosa will invest 30 million dollars in a new boiler which can burn the bark, saving the company 400,000 barrels of oil a year, or about one-fifth of its total requirement.

Georgia-Pacific Corporation, a major lumber and forest products company is experimenting with the growth of hybrid poplar trees as a boiler fuel. The firm calculates that these fast growing trees can produce more than 42 cubic meters of wood per year of a single hectare of land.

Most proposals to harvest alcohols and

methane from biomass involve the use of waste of various kinds—spoiled grain, dairy whey curds, wood bark and chips, animal feedlot wastes and the like.

Now that these collected wastes have acquired value because of the petroleum pinch, they are the logical first choice as the "feedstock" for producing hydrocarbon fuels from biomass. To the extent that biomass conversion remains limited to these sources it will make a small but helpful contribution to the U. S. requirement for hydrocarbon energy.

A decision to resort to biomass energy on a significantly larger scale in the United States will require a more fundamental approach to the problem, including the deliberate cultivation of feedstock on relatively marginal land. Various ideas for "energy plantations" of the Brazilian type have been advanced, with most American experts favoring the growth of trees rather than seasonal crops like sugarcane, or grain with a high sugar or starch content. Corn (maize), of course, will yield four times as much energy per unit of land as timber, but it requires a high "energy subsidy" (chiefly nitrogen fertilizer made with natural gas) to obtain this yield. In fact, the net biomass energy that can be realized from corn is only about five times the energy required to grow and harvest it, while the energy multiplier for trees is about 40.

Most scientific studies of biomass potential in the United States have focussed on plants and trees widely grown for their food, lumber, paper or fiber value. It is entirely possible that a more careful scrutiny will identify plants with vastly superior biomass characteristics. Professor Melvin Calvin of the University of California in Berkeley is experimenting on small plots with a plant called 'Euphorbia lathyris', whose leaves yield a milky latex. Latex is a mixture of reduced hydrocarbons and water, rather than a complex carbonydrate from which the oxygen must be extracted

during processing. When 'Euphorbia' is harvested, its leaves are crushed releasing the latex; then this is mixed with a solvent, the result is a "black oil—just like crude oil," Professor Calvin says.

Professor Calvin, who was awarded the 1961 Nobel Prize in chemistry for his work on photosynthesis, estimates that 'Euphorbia' will yield about 25 barrels of oil per hectare, at a cost of 20 dollars a barrel. The plant grows well on arid land, including most of the South-western United States, which is least productive for human use. Professor Calvin believes the latex-bearing plant could become the basis of commercially-viable old plantations within the next decade.

Acute Power Shortage in ECL

Asansol, Eastern Coalfield's Limited has been reeling under the impact of most acute power shortage during the past seven days which has not only affected adversely the coal production but has been posing a problem to maintain the safety in mines according to ECL sources. The sources said that yesterday the power supply was cut for 16.30 hours which was worst ECL ever faced and coal production was about twenty thousand tonnes only and added that, there were 17 to 35 trippings. Production in two Collieries namely Chapai Khas and Lachhipur had to be kept suspended since second shift yesterday the sources said and added that these mines could not be made ready for production before ten days. Production in some more mines including Chinakori, Parbelia and Damra are feared to be kept suspended shortly if the power position is not improved. The sources said that all these mines were highly gassy and had heavy natural percolation of water and employment of persons was very risky.

As against the ECL's daily requirement of ninety-five megawatt of power, availability ranges between thirty and forty per cent the sources said and added that most of this

power was consumed for maintenance of safety in mines. DVC is the major supplier of power to ECL in addition to WBSEB and DPL it is said. DVC was to supply sixtyfive megawatt but it did not exceed thirty percent DVC's generation has gone as low as 300 megawatt as against its installed capacity to generate 1380 megawatt it is learnt.

Average daily production of coal in ECL has gone down to fiftyeight thousand tonnes as against daily average of seventy thousand tonnes in the early months of current financial year. During the seven months period from April to October this year ECL suffered loss of coal production to the tune of 10.50 lakh tonnes. ECL feels worried how to maintain required supply of coal to the key consumers like Power Houses, Railways, Cement factories, Textiles mills etc. if power position is not improved. ECL also feels that this year's target of production of 26.06 million tonnes of coal would go in default by six to seven million tonnes if power position does not improve. What is the need in ECL is said to be an assured power supply of 30 megawatt more in addition to the present supply of 52 to 53 megawatt.—"Ccal Field Tribune"

A Solution To The Energy Problem: Fuel From Biomass

The limited resources of fossil fuel has created a global crisis in the availability and utilization of energy. The dependence of developing countries on oil and gas to meet their energy need is thus putting heavy premium just to meet the existing requirements, not to speak of the research and development effort for further enrichment. Several nations are now directing their attention to make use of alternate sources of energy like solar, wind and water to cater to the needs of both urban and rural areas.

The national energy plan requires a great deal of emphasis on the use of solar and geothermal sources and organic and agricul-

tural wastes for the generation of energy. In several developing countries, including India, indiscriminate import of technology from the highly industrialized and developed countries have often produced adverse effects alienating rural areas from urban centres.

In India, where fossil fuel is scarce and agricultural and fresh resources are immense, the use of biomass as energy source has immense potential.

Plants have the unique property of fixing and forming carbon compounds utilizing solar energy. Biomass produced as a result of solar energy conversion through photosynthesis can be stored and renewed. The biomass can be utilized as such for burning or be converted into alcohol, methane or gases through microbial decomposition to serve as substitutes for fossil fuels. The technology for its conversion is simple, with low capital input. The stored energy in biomass available on earth at any given period is equivalent to ten times the world's energy consumption as calculated on the basis of 2×10^{11} tons carbon fixation with an energy content of 3×10^{10} J. It is quite paradoxical that of the vast amount of biomass available only 0.5 to 1% is utilized at present (Hall, Nature, 278, 114, 1979).

For the production of biomass, one can resort to either intensive agri and silviculture or utilize the photosynthetic algae and bacteria. Fermentation of alcohol is gaining added importance as a liquid fuel and chemical feed stock (UNIDO report, Vienna). Sugarcane, cassave (Manihot), Sorghum, corn biomass and agricultural residues like bagasse can provide ideal base materials for alcohol production as has already been successfully carried out in Brazil and the United States of America.

Similarly in grapes the rind itself, even after juice is extracted, is very rich in sugar content. The grapeseed oil provides the pressed residues a heating value of 20,000 Joule

per Kg of dry substance and the grape marc thus occupies a position between brown and black coal (Ministry of Finance Report, Austria, UNCSTD, Vienna, 1974). It is a unique substance where vast amount of solar energy after conversion to chemical energy is stored due to long vegetative phase and as such immediately after vintage, emission of heat from grape marc is instantaneous. It offers also optimum condition for growth of thermophilic microorganisms. The process is accentuated when the ground grape seeds after separation and microbial decomposition are replaced by stored marc. The grape has therefore a multipurpose utilization but its use as source of energy far outweighs the rest. A coordinated programme at the national level for energy plantation at suitable agroclimatic conditions in India would fetch high dividends in future. ("A.K.S. in Science and Culture.")

Crisis in Iran

A Reuter bulletin appeared in Statesman that Muslim students stormed the U. S. Embassy at Tehran on seized an estimated 90 Americans and vowed to stay there until the deposed Shah is sent back from the New York to face trial in Iran. It got a little space in the newspaper on that date. But as the time marches on the situation has turned more and more critical and while going to the press there remained 49 hostages still at the mercy of the Iranian students on the 30th day after their captivation.

The USA is fighting for a right cause offering hospitality and treatment to a sick man and is refusing to send him back. Whatever pressure might have been created to make the U.S. Administration to give him shelter, there is no doubt that to the nation that is America the peace and happiness of Reza Pahlavi as a man and not as the Shah, has become the most important thing. A nation is great not because it wins or losses great battles

but because it can make the greatest sacrifices for the cause of human beings without any expectation of reward.

The reported move by Iranian students to put on trial American hostages held in U. S. Embassy is not only a gross violation of the principle of natural justice but also transgress ethics and the codes of conduct prevalent in any civilised society.

Revolutions are seldom gentlemanly affairs and in as combustible an area as West Asia, it was inevitable that the Iranian revolution should not only claim its own victims but also spread shock waves in the region and around the world.

In this connection it should be born in mind that U S A was very adamant in refusing to give political shelter to Shah, but later on they gave him shelter purely on humanitarian ground for his treatment of Cancer.

It is now clear that the Iranian Government of Ayatullah Khomeini has been unable to control the Iranian students, as already a month has passed away, but they are not able to control the situation and still there are 49 hostages at the American Embassy.

The U N council has also failed to persuade the Iranian Govt. to free the hostages. Almost our leading countries are keeping a watchful eye on the critical situation and in the meantime U S A has repeatedly wanted Iranian Government to release the hostages without delay, failing which they should be prepared for its consequence. On the other hand, the Ayatullah Government (we doubt whether it is governed by Ayatullah ministry or by the Iranian students) has declared "holy war" against U S A.

Ayatollah Khomeini not only surrendered himself completely to the students' demands but also used the fortuitous Kabba incident in which quite a number of people were killed, which will be condemned by all, to call for "holy war" against the U S A and Israel.

This has had tragic consequence in Pakistan and echoes in India.

Both the countries are hostile to each other and are prepared to fight their issues through violence. We fear there is every possibility of war unless the entire balanced and rational thinking people urge them to abstain from doing so and find a way out for the peaceful negotiation of the critical situation.

We have survived and surmounted major challenges since the U N. was founded, but we can accelerate progress even in a world of ever increasing diversity. A commitment to strengthen international institutions is vital; but progress lies also in our national policies. We can work together and form a community of peace if we accept the kind of obligation to show restraint in areas of tension, to negotiate disputes and to settle them peacefully, and to strengthen peacemaking capabilities of the UN and regional organizations. And finally an effort by all Nations, East as well as West,

North as well as South, to fulfil mankind's inspirations for human development and human freedom. It is to meet these basic demands that we build governments and seek peace. We must share these obligations for our own mutual survival and our own mutual prosperity.

We can see a world at peace. We can work for world without want. We can build a global community dedicated to these purposes and to human dignity.

However wealthy and powerful a country may be—however capable of leadership—this power is increasingly relative, the leadership increasingly in need of being shared. No nation has a monopoly of vision, of creativity, of idea. Bringing these together from many nations is our common responsibility and challenge. For only in these ways can the idea of a peaceful global community grow and prosper.

—“Indian Messenger”



INDO-ASEAN TRADE :

Dr. B. R. S. GUPTA

Needless to add, India has already well-established economic and other ties with individual Asean members. What is now being sought are areas that will easily lead to co-operation between India and Asean as a group (Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore). The Asean Five would examine the feasibility of opening up relations with India along with the lines of the co-operation agreement it has with the European Economic Community and Cultural Development Fund with Japan. The problem is that if a certain trade matter can be handled bilaterally, then a member state is unlikely to see a need to take it up as an Asean issue because the other Asean members will not benefit from such a move. For example, Singapore will not want to enter into any group deal involving railways because this will not be among her economic needs. Asean was, however, aware of the need to strike a balance in its trade with India. Historically, India has enjoyed a favourable trade balance with Asean because of the capital intensive nature of its exports. Asean exports to India have been largely agricultural based. Asean's move towards building a balanced industrial base through the ASEAN industrial projects would be of great help in correcting the trade imbalance with countries like India. India's active courtship of the regional grouping goes back to 1977 when the Janta government's new ambassador to Indonesia said his government was keen to initiate relations with ASEANS as a group. Since then, India's desire has been periodically expressed by its public and private sector representatives.

ASEAN response has been somewhat cool and cautious. More recently, Indian Commerce Minister, Mohan Dharia said at the signing of a trade agreement with the Philippines in Manila that India wanted to widen the scope of its individual bilateral relations with the ASEAN Five to cover areas of co-operation with the group as a whole. It is crystal clear that ASEAN welcomes the Indian proposals for dialogue because ASEAN does not have an inward-looking but an outward-looking attitude. The socio-economic grouping of Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines already has established dialogues with Japan, Australia, the United States, the European Economic Community and New Zealand.

Our political relations with these countries have always been good. Keeping in view this fact the delegation of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry (ASSOCHAM), which recently visited the ASEAN countries, is confident that this country can widen trade relations with and increase the number of joint ventures in this region. Needless to add, the region has emerged as a major market in recent years accounting for nearly 3% of world trade with oil, rubber, edible oils and tin as their main exports there are fairly substantial imports of both consumer products and intermediate and capital goods. Their total trade turnover is over 73,000 million. Our own trade turnover with the ASEAN countries has risen to Rs. 78.47 crores in 1974-75 to 102.17 crore in 1976-77. More than half of their joint ventures abroad are located in this region. Our equi-

Needless to add, we have developed the necessary expertise and skills to provide consultancy services, training facilities and turn-key projects. There is also the advantage of low freight costs and shorter delivery times due to proximity. The latest except Singapore, to allocate a greater part of their resources towards developing agriculture and agro-based industries, provides us with greater opportunities of further expanding our economic relations with this region.

There are complaints about the poor quality, shoddy packaging and delays in the delivery schedules against us. In each circumstances a tremendous effort will be required if we hope to compete against the advanced western countries—Japan and now China, which is in search of markets to earn enough hard currency to meet the expanses of its ambitions modernisation programme. The overseas Chinese, it should be remmebered in this context virtually control the trade of most of these countries. One of the reasons for our success in Malaysia could possibly the presence of a large and influencial Indian population. Delivery Schedules can easily be improved with betted shipping facilities. Apart from stricter quality control measures it will be necessary for us to only to keep abreast of the latest technology, but also maintain a sophiasicated technology base especially in industries that have an export potential. This was indeed the rational behind the liberalisation of capital goods imports last year and the parallel move to liberalise the import of technology by both public and private sectors manufacturing concerns. This has compelled our capital goods industries to face competition with the products of advanced technology. There is a great need for greater attention to the promotional work and marketing. The information gap must be broken and the built-in-prejudices against technology from a developing country must be removed through

The opening of China as a market is both an opportunity and a challenge to India. In fact it is emerging as a leading trading partner in this region. Thus additional efforts would have to be made to popularise Indian products in this region. India could offer the intermediate technology which is the basic need for these countries. Industries like sugar, cement, power generation, civil construction works, minor irrigation could set up as joint ventures. The reasons that products had not able to make headway so far has been that the projects were very small nature and lacked proper financial and technical support. The rate of mortality for these projects had been more than 50%. Needless to add, that the Indian entrepreneurs seems to have so far shown a marked preference for Malaysia, where 27 out of 50 joint industrial ventures in this region are located. There is no reason why similar success can be attained in the four other ASEAN countries. Our recent exhibition in Indonesia has evoked a great deal of interest and needs to be followed up with practical proposals. We have a wide range of sophisticated machinery and equipment as well as intermediate level technology which can meet the requirements of these countries.

aggressive and imaginative advertising. Marketing must take into account the specific tastes and needs of the region and even modify or adapt product design and presentation to make Indian goods culturally acceptable. This demands a selective approach and a scientific market segmentation. There is no more room for a conservative approach with small units backed by low financial and technological support. There is a great scope for both trade and joint ventures in wide areas of medium and light engineering and even mass consumption goods and consumer durables. Success will depend on close co-operation between govern-

ment and the industry.

To boost the trade, it has been suggested from many quarters that credit terms should be more liberal to match the offers made by other countries.

Another areas where India could play a very important role in setting up small scale estates in these countries. As the economic problems faced by these countries are similar, there are laying more emphasis on the development of small scale industries.

There is a great need for setting up branches of Indian banks in the region specially in Phillipines and Indonesia.

THE STORY OF OUR NEWSPAPERS

ARUN SEN GUPTA

[I]

In India, the first newspaper was published on 29th January, 1780. The name of the first Indian Newspaper was 'Bengal Gazette.' The Bengal Gazette was published in English language. It was a weekly newspaper. James Augustas Hicky was the founder—editor of the Bengal Gazette. So we can clearly say, James Augustas Hicky was the first editor of the first

Indian Newspaper. Mr. Hicky was a printer. A printing press was established by him in Calcutta. The name of the printing press was Bengal Gazette Press. The Bengal Gazette Paper was published from the press. The first Indian Newspaper Bengal—Gazette was published only for two years.

India's Second Newspaper was published in November 1780. The name of this paper

was India Gazette. India Gazette was published in English. Two gentlemen published this newspaper. Peter Reed was a Salt Agent. B. Messinck was a proprietor of a Theatre. These two Gentlemen are the founders of India's second newspaper. It was also a weekly newspaper and was published from Calcutta.

India saw another newspaper. It was Calcutta Gazette. Calcutta Gazette was published under auspices of the Government. Another Newspaper started its publication under the name 'Bengal Journal' in February 1783. It was published in English. After two months, Oriental Magazine or Calcutta Amusement was out in April 1785. It was monthly paper.

Madras saw a newspaper. It was Madras Courier. It was founded by Richard Thomson. He was a Government printer. The Madras Courier was born on 12th October 1785. It was weekly paper. The Bengal Journal was founded by Thomas Jones. He was a merchant. Bombay saw the first newspaper in 1789. It was Bengal Herald. It was a weekly paper and published in English. In 1790, another newspaper was published in Bombay. It was courier. In 1791, Bombay Gazette was out. In 1792 Bombay Gazette was amalgamated with Bengal Herald.

A weekly newspaper was out in January 1793 in Madras. It was Madras Gazette. Madras Gazette, a weekly paper, was founded by R. William. But this paper was published without the approval of the Government. Mr. William was under arrest and the publication was stopped.

In 1786, Calcutta saw another newspaper. It was Calcutta Chronicle. In 1791 William Duane became one of the proprietors of Bengal Journal. In 1794 another newspaper was founded by William Duane. It was Indian World & Tradesman, a weekly paper. But the role of William Duane was not liked

by the Government. In 1798 he was at last deported from India.

[II]

The first Bengali Newspaper was out on 23rd June 1818. The name of this newspaper was Samachar Darpan. It was published from Serampore. Another Bengali Newspaper edited by Ganga Kishore Bhattacharjee was published in the same year. In 1818 another monthly paper entitled 'Friend of India' was out from Serampore.

On 2nd October 1818 another Newspaper was published. It was Calcutta Journal founded and edited by James Silk Birkingham. Calcutta Journal was Bi-weekly Newspaper. On 1st May 1819 Calcutta Journal started publication as a daily newspaper. It was the first daily newspaper of India. The Bengal Gazette was the first newspaper of India but it was a weekly newspaper. The Calcutta Journal was the first daily newspaper of India.

On 2nd July 1821 another newspaper was out. It was 'John Bull in the East'. On 12th April 1822 Meerut-ul-Akhbar was founded and edited by Ram Mohan Roy. It was a weekly newspaper and published in Persian language.

On 12th February 1824, A Newspaper was out. It was published in English and entitled 'The Scotsman in the East'. Dr. Muston was the editor of this Newspaper. Another newspaper was published on 21st October 1824 edited by Patrick Crichton. It was a weekly paper and published in English 'Weekly Gleaner' was the name of this newspaper which was allowed to be sent by post free.

On 29th October 1824 Moreta De Rozario was permitted to publish 'Columbian Press Gazette'. It was a Bi-weekly paper and published from Calcutta.

On 9th February 1826 the first Hindi Newspaper was out. It was 'Odunt Martund.' The name of the editor was Jugal Kishore Sookul.

On 19th January 1825, a quarterly paper entitled Oriental Magazine was published, edited by Dr. Bryce. James Sutherland was the founder and editor of a newspaper. It was Bengal Chronicle.

On 15th January 1828 another newspaper was born edited by David Drummond and H. L. V. De Rozario. The name of this paper was KALEIDOSCOPE.

In 1827 Calcutta Chronich was published & edited by William Adam. On 7th February 1828 The Gospel Investigator was out & edited by Emmanuel Robam.

[III]

On 26th September 1828 another Newspaper was born entitled 'Calcutta Gazette And Commercial Advertiser'. 'Villiers Holcroft as the editor of this paper. On 7th May 1829 Bengal Herald was out. It was a weekly newspaper.

The first printing press was established in Kanpur in 1822. In the same year, the first newspaper of Kangpur was published. It was Kanpur Advertiser.

In 1828, various newspapers were published from Calcutta. These are :

Bengali Newspapers :

Samachar Darpan, Sangbad Kaumudi, Samachar Chandrika. These are all weekly papers.

Persian Newspapers :

Jam-E-Jahan-Numa. This is a weekly newspaper.

English Daily Newspapers :

Bengal Harkaru, John Bull.

Three Bi-weekly Papers :

India Gazette, Government Gazette,

Calcutta Chronicle. These are English papers.

Jam-E-Jahan-Numa was out in 1822. It was sponsored by the Government. The first Hindi Newspaper Odunt Martund was closed in 1826 due to financial crisis.

Gujrati Newspaper MUMDAI Samachar was published in 1822. It was a weekly paper. It became a daily newspaper in 1832.

Monte De Rozario was the proprietor of Bengal Chronicle, James Sutherland was the editor. In 1827 Samuel Smith became the owner of Bengal Chronicle. He was permitted to publish the joint paper entitled Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle.

In 1829 another newspaper was out. It was Bengal Herald or weekly Intelligence. Robert Montgomery Martin and Nil Ruckn Halder were the joint founders. This was a weekly paper. This was published in English, Bengali, Persian and Nagri characters.

In 1827 another newspaper was out in Bombay. J. H. Stocqueler was the founder of this English paper. Mr. Stocqueler was also the founder of Bombay Courier. He came to Calcutta. In Calcutta John Bull was about to stop publication. John Bull was taken with the help of Dawarakanath Tagore. The name of John Bull was changed. The new name was Englishman. In 1830, another newspaper was born. It was Parthenon edited by H. V. Derozio.

The publication of a Gujrati Newspaper entitled Mumbai Samachar was started in 1822. This was a weekly paper. After eight years it was converted into a Daily newspaper in 1832. Another Gujrati newspaper was started by Nowroji Dorabji in September 1830. It was Mumbai Vartam. In 1831 Jam-E-Jamshed was founded. It was also a Gujrati Newspaper. The founder was Pestonji Manekji Motivala.

[IV]

In 1832, The Bombay Darpan was publish-

ed. It was founded by Bal Shastri Jambhekar. The Bombay Darpan was the first Anglo-Marathi weekly newspaper. When this newspaper was out it was a fortnightly paper.

In Calcutta, a Bengali Newspaper was founded and edited by the Poet Iswar Chandra Gupta. It was Sangbad Prabhakar. On 10th August 1836 Sangbad Prabhakar started publication thrice in a week. On 14th June 1839 it was converted into a Daily paper. It was very important to remember that the Sangbad Prabhakar was the first Bengali Daily Newspaper.

On 18th June 1935 another Bengali Newspaper was born. It was Sangbad Purrochandrodaya. It was published for a period of seventy three years.

The first Urdu newspaper was founded by Syed Mohammed Khan in 1837. It was Sayyid al Akbar and published from Delhi. After one year another Urdu newspaper entitled Delhi Akhbar was out in 1838.

From Varanasi the first Bengali Newspaper was published on 2nd May 1849. The name of this newspaper was Varanasi Chandrodaya.

A weekly newspaper in English entitled Hindu Patriot was published in 1853. Girish Chandra Ghosh was the founder of this paper. Harishchandra Mukherjee was the editor of Hindu Patriot. It was published from Calcutta. The role of Hindu Patriot and the ablest editor Harish Chandra Mukherjee was remarkable in the history of Indian Newspaper.

Harish Chandra was a powerful editor, he was strongly criticising the attitude of the Government towards Indigo cultivation in his paper day after day. Harish Chandra died in 1861. Then Krishnadas Pal became the editor of this paper.

From Bombay several newspapers were published between 1840 and 1849. In 1840, the Mumbai Akhbar was out in Marathi language. The founder of the paper was

Suryaji Krishnaji. The life of this paper was very short. In 1841 another Marathi paper was published. It was 'The Prabhakar' founded by Govind Vethal Kunte.

In 1849, The Duyan Prakash started publication from Poona. It was edited by Krishnaji Trunbak Ranade. It was a weekly paper. In 1904 this weekly paper was converted into a Daily newspaper. Two Gujarati newspapers were born in 1832. They were Mumbai Chabuk and Durbin. These two newspapers were published regularly for a long time.

In 1848, three newspapers started publication. They were Beneras Gazette, Beneras Ukhbar and Soodhakur Akhbar. These papers were weekly. Beneras Gazette and Beneras Akhbar were founded by Mr. Raghonath Fulteh.

In 1847 the first newspaper was out in Barielly. It was Omudut-ul-Akhbar, edited by Moulvi Abdool Rahman.

On November 15, 1851 a Gujarati Newspaper started its publication. It was published fortnightly. The name of this paper was The Rost Gofar, edited by Sri Dadabhai Naoraji. In the next year, another Gujarati newspaper entitled Akhbar-E-Sondagar was born. It was a Tri-weekly newspaper.

In 1852 two Marathi Newspapers started their publication edited by V. B. Gokhale. The other Newspaper was Vichar Lahari of Poona. It was edited by Krishna Shastri Chiploonkar.

[V]

Govind Vithal Kunte was the editor of the Prabhakar. This newspaper was published in 1841. Mr. Kunte started another newspaper entitled The Dhoom Ketu. It was a weekly newspaper. Both the papers were published in Marathi language.

In 1850, a Gujarati newspaper was born

It was Chitragnan—Darpan edited by Behramji Jambhedji Gandhi. This newspaper was very popular.

In 1833, A newspaper in Tamil language was published. The name of this newspaper was The Rajavriti Bodhini. Then another newspaper entitled Dinavartamani was out. It was a weekly paper edited by Rev. Percival.

The first Malayalam newspaper was published in 1840 in Kottayan. The name of this newspaper was Vignyana Nikshepam.

In 1854, the first Hindi Daily newspaper was out. It was Samachar Sudhavarshan. This daily newspaper was published from Calcutta. It was edited by Syam Sundar Sen.

In 1865, an English newspaper entitled 'Pioneer' was published from Allahabad. In 1863, A Marathi newspaper was published from Belgaum. It was Belgaum Samachar. In 1863 two Gujarati newspapers were out. They were Gujrat Mitra and Gujrat Darpan.

In India, many newspapers are being published for over hundred years. They are Amrita Bazar Patrika (1868) Calcutta, Calcutta Review (1844), Calcutta. These are English papers. Bombay Samachar (1822) Bombay, Gujrat Mitra, Gujrat Darpan (1863), Surat, Jam-E Jamshed (1832) Bombay, Kheda Vertman (1861), Kaira. These are all Gujarati papers. Times of India (1838) Bombay, Examiner (1850) Bombay, Guardian (1851) Madras, Pioneer (1865) Lucknow, Mail (1867) These are all English papers.

In March 1868, a Bengali Newspaper entitled Amrita Bazar Patrika was published. It was a weekly paper. In 1870 Keshab Chandra Sen started publication of a newspaper. This was Sulabh Samachar. The price of the newspaper is only one paise. Kesori Mohan Ganguli was the founder of the newspaper entitled Halisahar Patrika.

From Jammu one Hindi newspaper was

published. This was Vritantta Bites. Another newspaper entitled Kavi Bachan Sudha was out from Benaras. Both these newspapers were born by 1867.

[VI]

In 1872 Robert Knight started publication of Indian Economist, a monthly paper in Calcutta. Another paper entitled Agricultural Gazette of India was founded and edited by Mr. Knight.

In June 1875 Robert Knight had resigned from the Agriculture Department. He was the Assistant Secretary of the Department. The Statesman was founded by Mr. Knight in the same year. The Statesman and the Friend of India were amalgamated and the name of the newspaper was The Statesman and The Friend of India. The entire expenditure of the publication of newspaper was borne by the businessmen.

In 1872, a weekly periodical paper was out in Simla. It was The Civil and Military Gazette. After four years the proprietor of this paper had taken over another paper entitled The Muffussilite of Agra. Both these papers were amalgamated and a daily newspaper was born and published from Lahore entitled The Civil and Military Gazette in 1876. In the next year this paper was further amalgamated with Indian Public Opinion of Lahore. The joint publication was issued under the name The Civil and Military Gazette and Indian Public Opinion on 2nd March 1877. Indian Public Opinion of Lahore was published on 16th November 1860. It was important to note that Madras Mail was the first evening newspaper of India. It was published in 1868.

In 1865 the most famous Anglo Indian newspaper was published. The name of this paper was Pioneer. It was published from Allahabad. In 1887, Rudyard Kipling

became the editor of this paper.

On September 28, 1861 The Bombay Times was amalgamated with the Bombay Standard, Telegraph and Courier. The Joint publication was issued under the new name The Times of India.

In Lahore, another newspaper was born. This paper was founded by Sri Surendra Nath Banerjee. It was Tribune and published in 1877. By 1880 various Hindi newspapers were published. They are Harish Chandra Magazine (1873), Chandrika (1874), Hindi Prasep, Sar Sudhanidhi (1879), Bharat Mitra (1877).

On 20th September 1878 Another newspaper entitled 'Hindu' was published in Madras. This paper was first published as a weekly paper. It was published in three days in a week from October 1883. The Hindu became a daily newspaper from 1889.

In Gujrat, various Gujrati newspapers were born between 1863 and 1895. In 1867 Surat Mitra was published. This name was changed to Gujrat Mitra. In 1873, another newspaper was out from Surat under the name Deshmitra. In 1880 a weekly paper entitled Gujrati was born in Bombay. In 1880, Kaizar-E. Hind was published from Bombay. From Ahmedabad, Praja Bandhuj was out. The name of this paper was changed to Gujrat Samachar in 1885. In Baroda another newspaper entitled Sayaji Vijaya was published in 1895.

In 1890, The Indian Social Reformer was published from Bombay. On 19th February 1891 Amrita Bazar Patrika became a Daily English Newspaper. In 1888, The capital was out and founded by Shirley Tremearne.

In 1900, the most prominent newspapers of India are: The Englishman, Indian Daily News. The Statesman, Bengalee from Calcutta, Hindoo, Madras Mail from Madras, The Times of India, Bombay Gazette, Advocate of India (Evening paper) Indian Spectator, Bombay

Samachar, Jam-E-Jamshed from Bombay.

In January 1900, Mr. G. A. Nateshen started publication of Indian Review. In 1909, another paper entitled 'Leader' was founded by Pandit Madan Mohan Malabhiya. This paper was edited by V. C. M. Chintamani,

On February 19, 1918 another weekly newspaper was out. It was The Servant of India edited by Sri V. S. Srinivas Sastri. In 1919, another newspaper was published from Allahabad. The name of this paper was Independent. It was published only for four years.

In 1920, a newspaper under the name 'AJ' was born in Benaras edited by Sri Prakasa. In 1923, The Hindusthan Times of Delhi was published. The first editor was Mr. K. M. Panikkar. In the same year, The Arjun was published in Delhi. Various Hindi newspapers were published in different states of India between 1920 and 1940. These are Sainik (1928) from Agra, Vishwamitra from Calcutta, Bombay, New Delhi, Hindi Milan from Lahore (1930), Vir Arjun (1934) from Delhi, The Navbharat (1934) from Nagpur, The Adhikar (1938) from Lucknow.

On 13th June 1930, Free Press Journal, an English newspaper was founded by Indian Mercantile Community. In 1940 we find that many newspapers were widely circulated. These are Bombay Times of India edited by Francis Low, Illustrated Weekly of India edited by Stanley Jepson, Evening News of India, Bombay Chronicle edited by Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Bombay Sentinel, evening newspaper edited by Mr. B. G. Horniman from Bombay, Indian Nation, Searchlight from Bihar, Hindu. Indian Express, Madras Review, Madras Mail, Dinamani from Madras, Hindusthan Times edited by Mr. S. N. Bharatf. National Call edited by J. N. Sahani from Delhi, Tribune edited by K. N. Roy, Daily Herald, Civil and

Military Gazette from Punjab, Sind Observer, Karachi Daily from Karachi, Leader, National Herald, Pioneer from U. P. The Statesman, The Amrita Bazar Patrika, The Hindustan Standard, The Jugantar, The Basumati, The Ananda Bazar Patrika from Calcutta.

Another two newspapers were very prominent. They were Kesari in Marathi Language and Mahratta in English. These two papers

were founded and started by Mr. V.K. Chiplonkar. After these papers were taken over by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Mahratta was issued on January 2, 1881. The prospectus of Kesari was distributed in October 1880. The name of Mahatma Gandhi will remain ever fresh in the history of our newspaper. Two prominent newspapers, Harijan and Young India were founded by him.

LEFTISM AND LEFTIST UNITY IN INDIA

BIBHUTI BHUSAN BOSE

Leftism in India has been contemplated in different offset of its meaning and significance after the attainment of so-called Independence. Before Independence i.e. 15th August, 1947 leftism in India emerged to overthrow the British power by hook or by crook and to achieve unconditional or unqualified complete Independence. But, after the attainment of Independence leftism in India has expressed itself in a positive sense. The complete overthrow of capitalist power and bringing about the regime of the dictatorship of proletariat was the only the connotation of leftism in India.

Before Independence Subhas Chandra Bose formed a left consolidation front in May, 1939 with the aim of overthrowing the British power

from India. With that aim in view, he gave a clarion call to all left and progressive forces in India to come under a common leftist forum. But, unfortunately, Congress Socialist Party and the Communist Party of India did not join that Front. Only for a few days M. N. Roy, a veteran revolutionary and founder of Radical Democratic Party, joined this Left Consolidation Front. Later on he separated from the Front on the false plea that Subhas had a fascistic penchant in his political theory.

After the departure of Subhas Chandra Bose from India's political firmament leftism has got a set back. In the August revolution of 1942 Radical Democratic Party and the Communist Party headed by M. N. Roy and

P. C. Joshi respectively played a second fiddle to the British Government. Labour fronts of these two parties viz., Indian Federation of Labour and All India Trade Union Congress also became a platform for British Government. The Communist Party went further than Radical Democratic Party and declared the Imperialistic war as people's war and described Subhas Chandra, hero of the I. N. A., as Quisling or an enemy of the country. Congress Socialist Party, Revolutionary Communist Party of India, Revolutionary Socialist Party of India, Forward Bloc etc., however, joined in August Revolution and their leaders were kept in detention.

After the attainment of Independence the task of consolidating different leftist parties in India was urgently needed. Meanwhile in 1947 Congress Socialist Party under the leadership of Jai Prakash Narain assumed the name 'Socialist Party of India. In the beginning of 1948 at Patna an attempt was made to form a Left United Front under the leadership of Swami Sahajananda, who was a close friend of Subhas Chandra in 1939 in forming Left Consolidation Front. In that Front the Communist Party and Socialist Party did not join. In December, 1948 M. N. Roy, an ardent advocate of Marxism who played a prominent part in Revolution in three continents i. e. America (Mexico), Europe (Russia) and Asia (China) disbanded his party formed in 1940 and started a movement for people's education in the political line. From Party Radical Democratic Party was converted into a movement and attempted to bring about a revolutionary change in India's political scene by Renaissance, People's Committee and Rationalism. In short, he abandoned the revolutionary colour and henceforth no longer was reckoned as a leftist force in India.

In this context came Sarat Chandra Bose, who was Leader of the Congress Party in

Central Assembly prior to Independence and who resigned from Congress Working Committee and the Congress Party on the issue of partition of India and Bengal on communal basis. Sarat Chandra endeavoured to assimilate all the progressive left parties in India and established United Socialist Organisation in October, 1949 on seventeen fundamental principles. Few of those which can even now be the basis of common platform of left parties in India are mentioned below for our readers :—

- (1) Scientific Socialism i. e. Marxism should be the basis of unity of all socialists in India.
- (2) Abolition of landlordism.
- (3) Nationalisation of key and basic industries.
- (4) Nationalisation of foreign capital.
- (5) Boundaries of provinces to be redistributed according to language basis.
- (6) Free Education for all.
- (7) Food and shelter from State for all.
- (8) Hindusthani written in Roman script should be the lingual franca of India.
- (9) Complete equality of sexes.
- (10) Military training should be made compulsory for all adult citizens.

The basis of unity was Scientific Socialism or Marxism. Unfortunately, Socialists did not join the United Socialists Organisation and the Communists were not invited as they owed their allegiance to a foreign power e. g. Soviet Russia. The organisation was meant for any party or organisation or individuals who believed in that ideology. The Socialist leader Jai Prakash Narain in a public meeting in Calcutta expressed his doubt about the successfulness of the Left Front organised by Sarat Chandra. According to him, different parties under different political ideologies and leadership would not ultimately be able to remain united. However he hoped that the noble endeavour of Sarat Chandra might be crowned

with success. Instead of front he advocated a United Socialist Party. Rammonohar Lohia, another leader of the Socialist Party, invited Sarat Chandra to join the Socialist Party and strengthen it.

In the inaugural address Sarat Chandra expressed the hope that gradually parties would forget their individual entities and 'that through common endeavour the existing Socialist lefties and progressive parties will gradually dissolve themselves and a United Socialist Party will evolve out of the United Socialist Congress ! But, unfortunately that hope could not replenish upto this day and the United Socialist Organisation was gradually waning. The Left United Front in different provinces has emerged only with the aim of defeating the ruling party, but those left parties were promiscuous after the elections were over. This is the sequel of seven elections since 1952.

In 1951 Krishak Mazdoor Party under the leadership of J. B. Kripalani emerged in political arena of India. In 1952 Krishak Praja Party was amalgamated with Socialist Party of India and assumed the name 'Praja Socialist Party' under the leadership of Jai Prakash Narain and J. B. Kripalani. Later on Forward Bloc (Subhasist) joined the Praja Socialist Party. In 1962 the Communist Party was divided into two parties—one as Communist Party of India and another as Communist Party of India (Marxist) under the leadership of S. A. Dange and N. S. Namboodripad respectively. In West Bengal Communist Party of India (Marxist) achieved its political power and was regarded as the biggest political party in that State. In Tipperah also it has gained political supremacy. In 1974 a new Party under Morarji Desai, Jai Prakash Narain and J. B. Kripalani was formed under the name and style 'Janata Party'. It defeated Congress (Indira) in all provinces and at the Centre. But due to

internal disputes it was divided, and the President was forced to dissolve Parliament and held an untimely election in 1980. In that election again Indira Gandhi gained her political supremacy. Janata Party was formed on the basis of Gandhism and class-collaboration. It had no connection with the principles of Marxism. The election Manifesto which was drafted in prison clearly laid down the basis of unity as Gandhism or class-collaboration. Moreover, a right reactionary Party, 'Jan Sangh' which was formed in 1951 under the leadership of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, joined that party. Hence, under no circumstances, it can be described as left force in India. It was rather a substitute of Congress (Indira) in Indian political arena.

This is, in short, the picture of political parties of India. Congress, Janata Party, Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League—all represent reactionary parties based on class-collaboration and communal frenzy. On the other hand, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Revolutionary Communist Party of India, Revolutionary Socialist Party of India, Forward Bloc, Socialist Unity Centre, Sanjukta Socialist Party formed by late Rammanohar Lohia etc.—all represent leftist and progressive parties based on Scientific Socialism or Marxism. The task before the leftists is to unite all the leftist or Marxist or progressive parties and individuals who believe in Marxism in economic sphere on a common strong platform and if possible, party on certain definite economic and political programmes. The task is not easy. Difficulties lie ahead in forming the United Socialist Party. Some socialist party will decry it as an unwarranted task. According to it overthrow of capitalist forces through ballot box is not a solution and a left united party, however, strong and benevolent it may be, will be unable to solve our daily problem of food,

shelter and education. But, it should be remembered that at the initial stage armed revolution will be crushed by strong capitalist government backed by military and foreign powers. Gradually they can come to the desired end. Capture of power through parliamentary system is a first step and after that they can proceed to capture power by armed revolution or armed forces. This is the considered opinion of V. I. Lenin put forward in his book 'Left Wing Communism—an

infantile disorder'.

In the above we have discussed, in brief, our opinion about the leftism and leftist unity in India. Opinions expressed above may vary from person to person. But we do hope that a dispassionate discussion may be helpful among the educated masses about the ways of and means of bringing about a peaceful and prosperous society in India. With that aim and hope we conclude our article.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

The Health of a Big City

Vladimir Kononov in Calcutta Municipal Gazette.

The industrial, transport and demographic pressure on man's habitat rapidly grows. This is especially noticeable in giant cities. Moscow with its 8 million population is not an exception: the city's population annually increases by 100,000, the number of automo-

biles has doubled over the past decade, while the might of Moscow's industry has risen over this period by about 50 per cent.

If we look at things realistically, without idealising the essence of the ecologically favourable situation, we are going to solve most of the problems linked with Moscow's environment by 1990. As for ideal quiet, we can ensure it in Moscow neither in 1990, nor

later because this is absolutely impossible. But we can reduce the noise level to the hygienically permissible limit. There are not so many methods of protection against noise: limitations imposed on the traffic inside residential sections, near schools, KGs and hospitals; bans on flights of aircraft over the city, the setting up of a dense green barrier along roads with heavy traffic. Moscow uses methods of noise control efficiently enough and searches for more reliable noise insulators. For instance, the first antinoise dwelling house has been designed and is now under construction. If the experiment proves to be a success than we shall use such dwellings as protectors of residential blocks against the noise from the streets.

Water Problem

Each day, over 5 million cu.M. of drinking water go for the needs of the city, or about 700 litres per inhabitant. This is more than in London, Paris, or any other world city of a similar size.

Moscow has been the first to master the method of ozonation on a large scale as a result of which ordinary river water has the taste of spring water. Of course, it is a pity if such water is spent on technical needs. Our fresh water sources are not boundless either. Moscow specialists have worked out the technology of recycling water spent on technical need not for a single enterprise, as it was before, but for the city's industry on the whole.

The first section of the industrial water-supply with a capacity of 240,000 cu. m. per day already operates, and capacity of 240,000 and the construction of the second section is under way. In perspective, the whole industry of Moscow and entire transport will be switched over to re-cycled water supply.

The problem of purifying industrial and

domestic waste is being successfully tackled. Not long ago, each day, about 9000,000 cu. m. of waste were dumped into the Moskva River. Since 1974, this dirty stream has been fully stemmed. Over the past two years and a half, about 100 water-purifying facilities have been built in Moscow. Its total number is 1,330 with an overall capacity of more than 6 million cu. m. of sewage per day. The city can purify more water than it consumes. Such a balance of the use of water has been achieved for the first time among the largest world cities.

Having solved the problem of purifying industrial and domestic waste, the authorities began to re-cover the natural purity of Moscow's fresh water sources, primarily the Moskva River... At present, the purification of the bed of this river within the city's confines is coming to an end. One can judge the scope of this work from the fact that 5 million cu. m. of polluted bottom sediments were excavated to be replaced by 50,000 cu. m. of clean river sand.

At the same time, the beds of other city rivers—the Yauza and the Setun—are being cleaned, as well as ponds and lakes (there are over 300 of them within the city's boundaries). This work has not yet been completed, but the fact that fish have returned to the Moskva River and wild ducks have settled on many lakes and ponds in Moscow shows the efficiency of the measures taken.

Air Problem

The problem of pure air is one of the most complicated ecological problems for any big city. For instance, we are not satisfied with the present condition of the air in the capital, although the pollution of the air with industrial ejections has been neutralised. Today, most Moscow's enterprises are fitted out with highly efficient dust-catchers and gas cleaning installations. Every year, they catch about

770,000 tons of harmful admixtures which earlier were ejected into the air.

The elimination of enterprises which were the most unfavourable in the sanitary respect has positively influenced the air in Moscow. Among these enterprises, there were about 4,500 small boiler-houses which provided Moscow with heat. Now this function is performed by large thermal and power stations working on gas.

It is much more difficult to neutralise automobile pollutants. And yet, despite the rapid growth of the automobile fleet in the Soviet capital we have done much in this respect. In particular, we have introduced strict control—automobiles whose engines are not regulated to the toxicity minimum are not allowed to be used. The city's automobiles are being gradually switched over to liquefied gas as fuel: over 6 000 automobiles have already been re-equipped, and by 1980 their number will total 15,000

In perspective, the problem will be solved through the introduction of electromobiles. The first batch of them has already been put into service. We are going to reduce the concentration of carbon monoxide by the mass use of the so-called neutralisers of exhaust gases. Neutralisers are small and simple devices which cut the concentration of carbon monoxide in exhaust gases by 85 to 95 per cent.

Greenery contributes much to the improvement of the air in the city. Specialists have established that 25 sq.m. of green area per urbanite can compensate for the loss of oxygen in the air. Today, there are, on the average, 44 sq.m. of greenery per Muscovite. Fifty years ago, this index was 1 sq.m. With every passing year, the green area in Moscow increases by 300 to 400 hectares. Parks and public gardens are not only a powerful oxygen reservoir of Moscow, but also an attractive place of recreation for Muscovites.

Pollution Problem of Water Courses :

D. K. Sanyal writes in the Calcutta Municipal Gazette :—

Of the three essential requirements of human life, air, water and food, water plays the most important part for maintaining the tissues of the body in healthy action. Without ample supply of wholesome water all the animal functions suffer as the body degenerates; air cannot clarify the blood sufficiently and food is imperfectly assimilated. Water is also indispensable for cleanliness and for manufacturing purposes. If the supply is impure, it endangers the lives of those who consume it and if insufficient, it largely affects the production of amenities of modern civilized life.

History

We, in India, were pioneers in water purification as well as preservation of water. In the "Sushrut Samhita", a Sanskrit medical book compiled more than 2,000 years B. C., appears the following :—

"It is good to keep drinking water in copper vessels. Expose it to sunlight and filter it through charcoal."

In another medical book written about the same time:

"Foul water is to be treated by boiling, and exposing it to sunlight and by dipping seven times into it a piece of hot copper, and then filtering it through coarse sand and then cooling it in earthen vessels."

To prevent water borne diseases such as typhoid, cholera, dysentery, diarrhoea, infectious hepatitis etc. protected water supply to rural and urban communities must be provided. It is also necessary that every water installation must be followed by an underground sewerage system and scientific disposal of sewage.

Sources and Requirements

A source of supply may be either a well, spring, natural lake, a deep pond in river bed, a perennial stream or an impounding reservoir formed by building a dam across a river.

Besides the personal and purely domestic (drinking, cooking, bathing, washing, flushing w.c.s. etc.) water is required for other purposes viz. street washing, flushing of sewers, fire-fighting, industrial and commercial use, maintaining gardens, agriculture, etc.

The higher the civilization advances, the greater is the need. Care and consideration about the supply of water for all purposes are essential.

Pollution by Industries

Water is essential and perhaps one of the cheapest raw materials for the industries. Although, water is used in large quantities by many industries, water appears in the product only to a small extent which means that most of the water used in the industry is returned. The water, so returned, is usually contaminated to a small or large extent. The natural water courses are sources of water supply as well as receptacles for disposal of the liquid wastes from the different industries and this returned water is generally discharged into the natural water courses without any treatment and thus overloading the stream with pollutants other than natural means of pollution. The nature of pollutants can be organic content released by different industries, municipal sewage, toxic substance discharge and suspended solids discharge by different industrial units.

Effects of Pollution

We should be aware of the effects of all categories of pollutants. Dissolved oxygen depletion due to biochemical stabilisation of

organic pollutant contents is conventionally considered to be the most important symptom as the consequence of industrial wastes. In reaches where such deoxygenation is more rapid than the reoxygenation due to reaction, the dissolved oxygen concentration in water may dip too low causing fish kill, low pH, unsightliness, malodour and other nuisance. Thus pollution control programmes often revolve around limiting the organic load.

The organic content creates health hazard which may even cause epidemic, infectious hepatitis due to localised pollution and due to a type of virus infection.

The organic content also has its adverse effect on the industries particularly on the power plant. Therefore, after treatment of raw water in the water works, the water is further treated in a demineralisation plant where dissolved salts are separated by 'ion' exchange principle. If the organic content is higher than the maximum allowable limit in the intake point of the demineralisation plant the quality of water treated in the plant suffers, which has a damaging effect on the costly equipments and life of the equipments is shortened and loss of power generation occurs which in turn, affects production of other industries.

Toxic substance like phenol, cyanides, tar acids etc. creates health hazards and affects aquatic life. Toxic substance cannot be totally eliminated in the water by conventional methods of treatment and that makes it still more dangerous. Pesticides are useful in plant protection but gradual degradation of pesticides on aquatic ecosystems is important because pesticides induced long-term changes may create disorder in any ecosystem. Pesticides leave residue in water and may even several days after their spray in the adjacent cropfields. The most important aspects of pesticides pollution of aquatic ecosystems is

the hazard of resistant food organisms in the consumers. This may lead to 'People kill' in long run. The chlorinated hydrocarbon insecticides are found to be the most hazardous toxicants.

Suspended solids affect the water treatment plant and silt up water supply channels.

Bipin Chandra Pal And The Extremist Challenge

Arup Chakravarti

Bipin Chandra Pal, through his extremist political views, gave a dynamic emphasis to Indian politics in the first two decades of this century, like his more illustrious contemporary and distinguished colleague Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He has rightly been described as 'a born rebel' by an academic historian. His contribution to the building up of Indian nationalism was freely acknowledged by all his contemporaries. Aurobindo Ghose, for instance, referred to him as 'one of the mightiest prophets of nationalism,' and Benoy Kumar Sarkar regarded him as 'the father of revolutionary thought in Bengal.' Though this great son of India began his chequered political career first as a moderate leader, eventually he became a champion extremist.

The stormy petrel of Indian politics first saw the light of day on November 7, 1858, when the Great Revolt of 1857 was mellowing into a softer glow. The hometown of Bipin Chandra Pal was the village Poil in the Sylhet District of what is now Bangla Desh. His father Ram Chandra Pal, a member of the Sylhet Bar, was well-versed in Islamic and Hindu theology and known for his strong likes and dislikes. Bipin Chandra's mother Narayani Devi had no formal education, but she was reserved, self-reliant and a strict disciplinarian. Bipin Chandra was the only son of his parents, though he had a sister named Kripa. The boy did not attend any

Bengali Pathasala as was the practice in those days. He learnt the three R's from his father and Persian from a Maulvi before entering an English school in the town of Sylhet in the year 1866. In 1874 he passed the entrance examination of the Calcutta University from the Sylhet Government High School and in 1875 (the year that his mother died) joined the Presidency College, Calcutta; but he failed twice in the first Arts Examination (1877-78).

The rebellious spirit in Bipin showed itself when he was reading in the Presidency College. In the autumn of 1877 he was ceremoniously initiated by Shivnath Shastri as a member of the Brahmo Samaj, much to the displeasure of his father. Soon Bipin Chandra, who became an earnest and eloquent preacher in the Brahmo Samaj, was regarded by many as a true successor to Keshav Chandra Sen. In December 1881 he married his first wife, Nityakali Devi—a brahmin widow in Bombay at the Prarthana Samaj. But his association with the Brahmo Samaj led to his complete alienation from his father. Not only did not father stop sending remittances to him, but he even disinherited him by a will. He was also excommunicated by his society. Pal struggled hard to continue his studies but eventually had to give them up and seek employment. From this time began his life of poverty which lasted almost till his end. Ram Chandra Pal, however, sent for Bipin, and the two were reconciled before Ram Chandra's death in 1886. Ram Chandra made a new will on his deathbed, giving all his property to his son. To those present he remarked, 'For ten years I did not see Bipin's face. By a previous will I disinherited him absolutely..... There is no one except Bipin, whatever may be his religious principles, who would after my death protect with all his life the honour of my wife and my daughter. That is why I called him back'.

Bipin Chandra married again in 1891 after the death of his first wife, this time Brijmohini

Devi, also a brahmin widow who happened to be a distant cousin of Surendra Nath Banerjee. He had by his two wives three sons and five daughters.

Bipin Chandra started his career as the headmaster of a high school in Cuttack—the Cuttack Academy—in the beginning of 1879. But he did not stick to any job for long. He worked as headmaster in several schools in successions: in Sylhet (1880), in Bangalore (1881), etc. He was a journalist all his life, starting on that career in 1880 at the young age of twenty-two. His first adventure was a Bengali weekly journal, *Paridarsak*, which he ran from Sylhet; he edited the *Tribune* in 1887-88, started *New India* in 1901, *Bande Mataram* in 1906, published the fortnightly journal *Swaraj* in London in 1909, and founded the monthly *Hindu Review* in Calcutta in 1912. Furthermore, he edited the daily *Independent* and the weekly *Democratic* in Allahabad in 1919-20, and the *Bengalee* in 1924-25. He was, besides, a regular contributor to the *Modern Review*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Englishman*, the *Statesman*, and many other journals. In the words of Mr. N. C. Kelkar, who was an equally prolific writer, Bipin Chandra Pal wrote words in torrents. For a year and a half he acted as the librarian and secretary of the Calcutta Public Library (1890-91). His literary activities, which had actually started in his school days, continued throughout this period, and he published a biography of Queen Victoria in Bengali (1887) and a work on Keshav Chandra Sen in English (1893). Commenting on his contribution to Indian Journalism Lord Ronaldshay has said in his book *Heart of Aryavarta*, 'His pen played a not inconsiderable part in the social and political ferments that have stirred the waters of Indian life.'

(“Prabuddha Bharata”)

Development of Solar Energy

By Elparid Khodzhayev, APN Correspondent

Much is being done in the USSR to compel solar energy to play a big role in the overall energy balance, to turn it into an important addition to the conventional types of fuel. The potentialities of utilising solar energy are enormous: during six months the sun sends to the earth amount of energy equal to all global reserves of coal and oil.

Ever greater number of scientists in many countries are dreaming of evolving a simple, efficient and economically reasonable method of using “pure” solar energy. In Uzbekistan (Soviet Central Asia), one of the leading experts in this field is Giyas Umarov, Corresponding Member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences.

The output of solar water heaters and kitchens has recently been arranged in the ancient city of Bukhara, the scientists said. This is one of the major items of the first programme of utilising solar energy. Under this programme, in each region of Uzbekistan, an experimental four-storey dwelling house and a kindergarten with hot water supply from solar installations are to be built.

The first four-storey houses provided with solar heating systems have already sprung up in Tashkent and Chinchik. Water heating panels have been mounted on southward oriented external walls. If weather is cloudy or cold, the solar system is automatically switched over in these houses to urban central heating.

Experience shows that the use of solar energy saves up to 60 per cent of fuel which goes for heating and for supply of hot water. The installation of heaters and other simple equipment raises the cost of house by 15 to 20 per cent. Water heaters are installed in sanatoria, holiday homes, Young Pioneer camps, tourist centres and laundries.

Solar Power Stations

The second line in using solar energy is the creation of concentrators of sunbeams. The Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan is recognised as the USSR's leading research centre in designing such concentrators. The Uzbek Academy coordinates studies of all scientists and specialists in this sphere.

Mirrors from polished glass are the best concentrators, Giyas Umarov went on to say. However, the manufacture of a large mirror of this type is costly. It has been decided to design concentrators consisting of several round mirrors (facets). One facet is five metres in diameter. Sixty facets are needed to make a concentrator. All of them are mounted on a metal frame to collect sunbeams in the focus where the temperature reaches about 2000 °C.

This is a kind of oven without walls. If one places the Sterling engine in which operating heat is not water vapour, but gas circulating in the sealed body, electric energy can be obtained.

In addition to the Sterling engine, turbines with a low capacity but with a high number of revolutions can be used to transform thermal energy into electric energy.

Today solar power stations can generate electricity with the production cost close to that of nuclear and thermal stations. However, in industrialised areas, they are still uncompetitive.

Solar power stations belong to the future, but a solar kitchen is already in wide use. Such kitchens have become reliable helpers of shepherds, geologists, workers of meteorological stations, those who travel or live in deserts or mountains. The kitchen is collapsible. Seven small mirrors enable one to obtain heat sufficient to boil six liters of water during an hour. In fine weather (in Uzbekistan 300 days in a year are sunny) a solar kitchen operates not worse than an electric cooker. Besides, Uzbek scientists have designed solar refrigerators and dryers for fruit, vegetables, grain and silkworm cocoons, which are even more widely used in the national economy.

Pulsed Irradiation

Another field of the application of solar energy concentrators is pulsed irradiation of the seeds of farm crops before sowing. Experiments of many years have shown that such irradiation raises cotton yields by 10 to 15 per cent and accelerates the ripening of cotton by six or seven days. Several types of devices have been designed for the pre-sowing treatment of seeds.

Scientists have also designed solar installations which transform mineralised water into fresh water. Water fresheners installed in the Kyzyl-Kum desert operate efficiently. Solar installations also set in motion pumps which lift water from subsoil horizons to the surface.



Founded by : RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER



1979

Vol. CXXXXHI No. 4

Whole No. 36

NOTES

When the Year Approaches its End

When the year reaches its tenth month people habitually look back and try to remember the important incidents of the months that had passed. What happened in January last or at the Bengali new year's day in April. Some who are sports minded begin to think of cricket scores or about the winner of the football League. May be the winner of the Indian Football Association Shield. The names of Mohun Bagan, East Bengal and Mahomadan Sporting naturally crop up. Race goers name horses, cinema fans their favourites of the screen, radio mad people the singers who made a new hit in such and such month and so on and so forth. There are others who are of an intellectual turn of mind. They try to remember the Art exhibitions of the early months of the year, the new books that were published during the season that passed, the space travels achieved by the Americans and the Russians

and who won what Noebel Prizes. Politically inclined persons would look for invasions, skirmishes and aggressions. Did China violate the territorial rights of any neighbours or America play any tricks with the sovereignty of any neutral and peace loving state? The year had mental food for all castes and no one with any special fads or fancies needed to draw blanks.

Not all countries of the world have the same or similar responses to what happens in the outside zones. Brazil may not be at all interested in the political ambitions of China, nor Argentina worry about the problems that Congo or Burma would be facing. England's reactions to any Russian success in space research would be quite different from what Chile or Peru would feel about the same matter. The Japanese will be keen on expanding their merchant fleet or their goods carrying plans while Turkey, Israel or Sri Lanka will not be in the same

competitive game at all. The newly created African and Asiatic states will have problems which would be considered elementary by the Scandinavian countries or by West Germany. In the economic sphere animal husbandry may attract India in a manner which would be entirely different from what Iraq will feel about cattle rearing. Tibetans desire to develop her wool growing will have an appeal which will be distinct from what Egypt or Nigeria will feel about sheep ranching. Arid and treeless territories cannot expect to succeed in the cultivation of silk worms, but they may achieve economic development through desalination of sea water and conversion of desert regions into green pastures. What is thus good for one country may not be of much value to another and all lands have their own specific lines of progress.

Coming to recount what happened in India during the year one naturally thinks of the dangerous floods that devastated large areas of North India. These began during the second half of the year 1978 and continued to do extensive damage to the life and property of the people during 1979. The floods became a menace to the people of India due to leaving the tremendous flow of rain waters of the monsoon uncontrolled by not completing the system of barrages recommended to be put up by the consultants whom the government of India had appointed for this purpose. Half the work was not done due to financial stringency and no serious efforts were made to arrange for funds for this vital work though funds were found for many other schemes of much less importance. Very strangely various

political parties had formed governments in different regions, but none of these governments chose to take a serious view of the flood menace and to take proper steps to deal with this matter in the manner that it required to be handled. Apparently party ideologies did not consider floods would have enough pull in point of attracting public opinion; that is, be of any great press value and so should be left to carry all the destroyed values with the bits and pieces of the village huts down to the sea.

Other conditions that affected the life and activities of the people of India were various dearths and shortages that prevailed in certain important parts of India. Thus power shortage interfered with the normal operation of industries as also of the mines. Power shortage was caused by not keeping up power generation in tune with industrial development and growth of population. This affected the working of pumps as well as of running hoists, lifts etc. reducing coal output which in its turn caused blocks in the operation of plants in all sorts of productive work in all manners of places. Even railway programmes had to be altered to fit in with the coal shortage which had their repercussions in diverse directions. Another matter which caused great worry and suffering to the Indian people was an intensive and all round rise in the price of commodities essential for maintaining a normal consumption of ordinary citizens. Food, clothing, housing, medicines, conveyance, furniture etc. etc. were all going up and becoming scarce in point of price and supply. People said this was world wide phenomenon. But other countries income rise too.

GUIDE TO INDIAN HISTORICAL LITERATURE

JADUNATH SARKAR

(Reprint from Modern Review of 1907)

THE SIKHS AND RANJIT SINGH.

Below I give a critical bibliography of the historical and descriptive works bearing on the Punjab from the rise of the Sikhs to the British annexation. Of the immense number of travels and lives of the British officers who visited Lahore during this period or fought in the Sikh wars in an early part of their career. I may have left out a few, but none I trust of any importance. For all practical purposes the list is a complete one. I have divided the books according to their subjects, but there is a more useful classification, viz., original histories and compilations. The student of history rightly values the former, instead of receiving his information at second hands from the latter. The war of 1845 gave a sudden impetus to the making of books on the Punjab, and many of the works issued from 1845 to 1848 (especially the controversial ones) were of a catchpenny character.

Then, again the reports of different travellers on the country and court of Ranjit Singh and of the actors in the military drama on the Sutlej vary in value according to their different powers of observation and literary expression. I have specially marked with stars the more valuable of these. But the historian of manners, the lover of the picturesque, the historical novelist in search of graphic touches, can pick up useful points from nearly all of them. The general reader should make a start with Thorburn's Punjab in peace and war Lepel Griffin's Ranjit Singh, and Cunningham's history.

I can not say anything of Nos. 3, 6, 12 and

33, as I have neither examined nor read any criticism of them.

SIKH RELIGION.

1. Trump...A di + Granth. (The standard authority.)

2. M. Macauliffe—Life of Guru Tej Bahadur (Lahore, 1903). (Author engaged on a much more elaborate work on the sacred writings of the Sikhs and their Authors.)

3. Sir J. Malcolm—Sketch of the Sikhs, 1812 (Reprinted from the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI.)

For a valuable account of the Sikh religious tenets and the Gurus see T. P. Hughes's Dictionary of Islam, 2nd ed. (W. H. Allen 1895), pp. 583-594.

4. H. T. Prinsep—Origion of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and political Life of Muharaj Runjeet Singh, (Military Orphan Press, Calcutta 1834.) Based upon the reprint of Cap. W. Murray, Political Agent at Umbala. Invaluable as the source of many later compilations. The information collected was the best then available.

5. J. D. Cunningham—History of the Sikhs, 2nd edition (J. Murray, 1853.) This edition should be preferred to the first, as it contains the author's last notes and a fearless exposure of the British policy by the deceased author's brother. This work is simply invaluable. (There is also a cheap reprint by the Bangabashi Press, Calcutta.)

6. C. Wide—Our relations with the Punjab, (1823.)

7. W. L. McGregor,—History of the Sikhs, 2 vols. (madden, (1846) (Quotes largely a good special report. Is original and valuable on the war, which the author saw as an army doctor.)

8. W. G. Osborne,—This court and camp of Ranjit Singh, with an Introductory Sketch of Rise of the Sikh state, (Colburn, 1840) (A very graphic picture by an able observer.)

9. Lieut-Col. Steinbach—The Punjaub (Smith Elder, 1845) as in the Sikh service Book too brief to be of any use.)

10. G. C. Smyth—History of the Reing family of Labore with some account of the Jammoo Rajas, the seik soldiers and their sirdars. (Teacker, 1847.) (Valuable in some details, Unequal in character. Requires careful use in the controversial portion.)

11. (Sir H. Lawrence). Some passages in the life of an Adventurer in the Punjab. (First edition, Delhi 1842. Second ed., in 2 vols. London, 1846. A novel, with very valuable notes, describing the administration, court and officialdom of the Punjab under Ranjit Singh. Of great use to the historian.

12. (Anonymous) History of Punjab and the Rise of the Sikhs, 2 vols, (1846.) This work is founded on No. 4.

13. J. W. Kaye.—life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe, 2 vols. (1854) Metcalfe went to Ranjit Singh as British envoy in 1808. (The second edition is abridged in its earlier part,) The papers of Metcalfe, edited by Kaye, may contain references to this embassy, but I have not examined it.

14. G. Forster—Journey from Bengal to England through Northern India, Kashmir, Afghanistan, & c., 1783-84, 2 vols. (1798), early description of the country and people.

15. Lepel Griffin—The Rajas of the Punjab, 1870.

16. Ditto—The Chiefs of the Punjab (The standard authority on the lesser chiefs of the Punjab).

17. W. Irvine—The later Mughals, in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (Greatest authority on the successors of Aurangzib. Accurately puts and critically examines all the information available from Persian and European books and MSS. On the subject.)

Books of Travel describing Ranjit Singh

18. Victor Jacquemont—Letters from India, translated from the French. (Churton, 1934), 2 vols. There is another edition in 2 vols) The author was a young but devoted French scientist with very fresh powers of observation and a pleasant style.

19. Sir A. Burnes—Travels into Bokhara & c—new edition, 3 vols (Murray, 1839.) (A great traveller, diplomat, and writer. Long regarded as an authority on these parts.)

20. Mahan Lal—Journal of the Tour through the Punjab, Afghanistan, & c in the company of Lieut. Burnes. (Baptish Mission Press, 1834.) Another edition was published in England in 1846. One of the first products of English education in India. The author's English is curious but not inflated.)

21. Moorcroft and Trebeck—Travels in the Himalayan provinces, the Punjab, Ladakhs Kashmir, &c. 1819-25 edited by H. H. Wilson 2 vols.

22. C. Masson—Narrative of Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab, 1826-38, 3 vols. (Bentley, 1842).

23. E. Fane—Five years in India, 1835-39, 2 vols, (18420 Aide-De—Camp to Lord

Anckland accompnied him to the Court of Ranjit Singh.

24. E. Eden—Up the country, (Bentley, 1867) supplemented by Letters from India, 2 vols. (1872). The sister of Lord Auckland : visited Ranjit in the company of the Governor-General. Vivid, and detailed descriptions by a practised writer and shrewd observer.

25. C. J. French—Journal of a Tour in Upper Hindustan, 1838, 39 (Agra 1854) (A clerk in the entourage of Auckland).

26. Shanamat Ali—The Sikhs and Afghans immediately before and after the death of Banjit Singh (Murrar, 1847). (Mohan Lal's school-fellow. Writes admirably correct English).

27. C. Hugel—Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, translated from the German by Major Jervis. (Petheram, 1845). (Valuable observations of a great German scientist.)

28. G. T. Vigne—Ghuzni, Kabul, and Afghanistan, (1840) (A delightful book of travel).

29. Honigberger—(Thirty five years in the East, 2 Vols. (1852) court physician Lahore. There is also a reprint by the Bangavashi Press Calcutta (Valuable as coming from one in close touch with the Sikh Court.)

30. Von. Orlich.—Travels in India, Sindh, and the Punjab 1842-43 translated from the German, 2 Vols 1845. (Un-English eyes turned on the Sikhs.)

31. W. Barr—Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar.....with the Mission of Sir C. M. Wade, (1844) (was a keen observer and excellent writer Descriptions and style admirable.)

32. Alex. Gardner—Soldier and Traveller, Col. Of Artillery in the service of Ranjit Singh, edited by perarse. (1898) Also gives the history of the First Sikh war. (Valuable, as coming from one behind the scenes.)

THE SIKH WARS : HISTORIES :

33. Gen. Caulfield—The Punjab and the Indian Army (1846).

34. J. Coley—Journal of the Sutlej Campaign of 1845-46 (Smith Elder, 1856). (Graphic account by an army doctor.)

35. Malleeson—Decisive Battles of India (The best written account of the war by an expert writer and soldier, free from bias, and fearless in seeking the truth.)

36. Gough and Innes—The Sikhs and our Sikh wars, (1897) (A modern compilation).

37. C. M. Hardinge—Recollections of India, the Punjab and Kashmir. 26 lithographic views. (1847) (A good pictorial illustration —helps us to visualise the scenes.)

38. Sir H. Hardinge—Despatches on the Sikh War (formal official reports, not always expressing the truth.)

39. Subaltern.—Leaves from the Journal of a during the Punjab Campaign, reprinted from the "Times" (Edinburgh, 1849). Very graphic account by an eye-witness.)

40. J. H. Lawrence-Archer—Commentaries on the Punjab Campaign, 1848-49. (Allen, 1878), (A critical study of the greatest value, Excellent plans of battles.)

41. E. J. Thackwell—Narrative of the Second Sikh war (Bentley, 1851). (valuable account by an actor in the war, the son of Gen. Thackwell).

42. Parliamentary Papers—Papers relating to the Punjab, 1847-49 (1849) (official

versions. Scornfully rejected by Malleson as suppressing and distorting the truth.) was overborne by Dalhousie even in military matters.)

43. H. B. Edwardes—A year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848-49, 2 vols. (Bentley 1851) (very valuable, especially for the siege of Multan).

44. Sir H. Lawrence—Essays contributed to the Calcutta Review. (Reprinted in the volume, 1859) The earlier volumes of the Calcutta Review (which was started in May 1824) are a store house of information.

BIOGRAPHIES OF ACTORS IN THE SIKH WARS:

45. Sir H. Smith—Autobiography, 2 Vols. (1801) (The victor of Aliwal).

46. W. W. W. Humbly—Journal of a Cavalry officer including the Sikh Campaign of 1845-46 (Longman, 1854.) (a graphic and scholarly writer, admirable description of India.)

47. Major G. Broadfoot—The Career of (Murray, 1888) (Contains a long contemporary account of the Sikh war and its diplomacy by a very capable officer.)

48. Sir, H. Lawrence, Life of, by Edwards and Merivale, 3rd ed. in 1 Vol. (Smith Elder, 1873) (of great value, especially on the political side).

49. Sir, G. Lawrence—Forty-three years in India. (1874) (Throws interesting side lights on the Sikhs and the Second Sikh war.)

50. Col. A. Mountain—Memories and Letters edited by his widow, 2nd ed. (Longman, 1857) Died in battle, 1849. Useful history.)

51. Rait—Life of Hugh, Viscount Gough, 2 Vols. (1903) (Clearly proves how Gough

52 W, S. B. Hodson,—Twelve years of a soldier's life in India, edited by his brother, 2nd ed. (Parker, 1859) (interesting in every part, especially the Mutiny.)

53. N. W. Bancroft—From Recruit to staff Sergeant with sketches of the Sutlej Campaign (Calcutta T. S. Smith 1885) (A most vivid sketch of the common soldier life and realistic picture of the war.

54. Sir. H. Havelock—Memories of, by J. C. Marshman. (Longman, 1860) several editions.

55. Lord Clyde,—Life of, by Shadwel, 2 vols. (Blackwood, 1881) (Detailed account of General Colin Campbell's experiences in the 2nd Sikh war.)

56. Reynell Tylor—A biography of, by E. G. Parry, (Kegan Paul, 1888) (Contains little of any value.)

57. General Kenyon—Autobiography, of, edited by Lloyd. (1880).

58. Lee-Warner—Life of Dalhousie, 2 Vols. (Macmillan, 1905.)

59. Mrs. Colin Mackenzie. Mission the Camp, and the Zenana, 2nd ed. 2 Vols (Bentley, 1854) (The lady's husband was an officer engaged in the war. She was very active and a facile descriptive writer. Many graphic touches.)

60. Lieutenant Colonel. P. R. Innes.—History of the Bengal European Regiment (S. Marshall, 1885) (an useful work, especially as giving information from the regimental history.)

61. Captain E. Buckle—Memory of the Services of the Gengal Artillery, edited by

Kaye. (1852) (of the same class as No. 60)

62. Sir H. Durand—Life of, by his son, 2 Vols. (1883)

63. L. Bowring—Eastern Experiences (1871) (contains, among other things, the Punjab before Annexation and the Sikh Invasion of the Cis Satlej country.)

64. S. S. Thorburn—The Punjab in Peace and war (Blackwood, 1904) (A very interesting book marked by great literary skill and a wonderfully lucid style. Should be

read by all.)

65. Sir L. Griffin—Ranjit Singh (Bulerw of India Series. 1892) (A well written monograph by a first rate authority).

66. Syad Muhammad Latif—Histroy of the Punjab (Calcutta, 1891) (A mere paste and scissors work without literary charm or historical criticism. A ponderous and wearisome compilation.)

67. Gen. Gordon—The Sikhs, (a readable short work with no pretension to originality.)

IN SEARCH OF EXTRATERRESTRIAL CIVILISATIONS

I. KARTASHOVA

'In the next two or three months we will be sending radio sign is to approximately 15 of the nearest sun-like stars, said Vsevolod Troitsky, Corresponding Member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the section "Search for Artificial Signals from Space" of the Radio Astronomy Council of the Aeademy of Sciences of the USSR. These stars include the Whale Tau, the River Epsilon, Procyon, the Hunting Dogs Beta, Swan 61, etc. The messages will be "space landscapes," pictures showing the

sun against the background of surrounding stars, as they can be seen from this or that star. Frankly speaking, the probability of success is small. Nevertheless, such experiments are necessary. By working out a reasonable strategy for the search of extraterrestrial civilizations, and combining various methods we thus improve the chances of success. In my opinion, the main result of studying this problem for 20 years is that we have started to rely on observational data and experiment.

The search for intelligent life in the universe is being conducted along three lines: the search for the most primitive forms of life in the solar system, the attempts to detect planets near the stars which are in our closest vicinity and the search for extraterrestrial civilizations proper. No matter how paradoxical this may sound, the latest path is the most accessible and promising. Why? If we assume that at least some extraterrestrial civilizations develop along the same technological path as we do, then in a definite stage of the development of science and engineering they will master (or have already mastered) electromagnetic waves for communication, navigation and other needs of civilization. There is no doubt that they will also start searching for intelligent life in the universe. Since the wish to get acquainted becomes reciprocal, the chances of success will become better.

Besides, any advanced society, wanting to establish a contact, will naturally choose a means with the lowest energy expenditures: most probably not spaceships but electromagnetic waves. In order to send a spaceship even to the closest star and to bring it back to Earth at the speed of light such an amount of energy will be needed which would be enough for meeting all needs of mankind for 10,000 years, or for operating for 30,000 years a powerful omnidirectional beacon whose signals can be received by tens of millions of stars.

Two strategies have been developed: search for signals specially directed to us, and for traces of the activities of civilizations (television, communication, etc.) Unfortunately, so far we have not gained positive results. However, methods of search are not yet perfect. In the first place, we have surveyed with relatively high sensitivity about 1,000 stars—an infinitesimal fraction of the total number of stars. Secondly, it took us a mere several minutes to conduct observations of each star. So far not a single signal has been received. But does this mean that they have not been sent? The absence of proofs in no way means that the proof does not exist. Let us assume that signals from outer space are sent to us regularly. From where and at which time must they be received? It is necessary to organize the simultaneous observations of the entire celestial hemisphere, of all stars simultaneously. The Radio Physical Research Institute in the city of Gorky is designing such a receiving system. Its first section is to be put into operation this year.

The working out of new systems of radio telescopes, of new technical facilities and methods of communication with the universe, including fantastic ones, is in full force in the USSR and abroad. We hope that within the next decade investigations conducted in various countries will bring us closer to the solution of the problem. Each experiment is a step forward.



WHITHER THE AUDITOR'S INDEPENDENCE

Dr. R. M. LALL

Financial statements are basically the representations of management and by putting his signatures thereon the auditor lends justified credibility to them. If the auditor were not independent, the credibility would be next to nothing and his signatures would repel rather than attract a host of his visible and invisible clients including investors, employees, customers and government agencies.

There is no doubt that independence in the sense of being self-reliant and not subordinate to others, is an integral part of the practice of all professions. Every professional—whatever his field of specialisation—shoulders full responsibility for his opinion and deserves no sympathy if in the formation of his opinion he had subordinated his professional judgment to others. Likewise, in all phases of his work the accountant should possess an attitude indicative of self-reliance as part of professional integrity; he should hold himself out to be completely free from the control or influence of the management; and his professional judgment should be based on self-imposed standards, and specificity of professional expertise and ethics. In addition to such professional independence, the accountant while acting as an auditor has to attain what may be called 'audit independence'. This independence imparts the idea of upholding the objectivity or lack of bias in making delicate judgments. It enjoins on the auditor to stand above all such self interest as may warp his judgment even subconsciously. To answer its requirements, the auditor has to guard against bestowing any favours on his client and has to assure himself with the enjoy-

ment of unfettered freedom in chalking out his audit programmes, in selecting evidence, books and records for his examination and even in the preparation of his report. Furthermore, he should avoid even all unintentional feelings which may induce him to take decisions not befitting the dignity of the profession. I think the auditor should be deemed to be not independent if he uses ambiguous language in his report or omits material statements from his report or shifts material statements from his formal report to the informal report, and so on.

Equally important, if not more, is the other two-fold independence of the auditor, in that he has to maintain independence both in reality as well as in appearance. Independence in reality means the quality of the auditor remaining objective, disinterested and not being influenced by consideration of any personal advantage. Independence in appearance refers to his freedom from all conceivable conflicts of interests likely to shake public confidence in his independence in reality. This requires an uphill task on the part of the auditor and calls upon him to have a full grasp of all pressures and circumstances including those too subtle for immediate recognition, which may colour his objectivity. In this behalf, much greater obligation is cast on the profession as a whole than on the individual practitioner. Independence in appearance is of paramount importance in the building up of the image of the profession. Unless the public reposes confidence in the objectivity of auditors in certification of financial statements, the profession is likely to be reduced to a shadow

of its own self.

All this explains in brief the concept of independence in its varied forms. It would be refreshing to find how far the profession has come up to the desired standard. It is unfortunate that no research methodologies have been gone through for arriving at an objective assessment. The opinions expressed on the point as to whether the auditor is independent or not, and if so, to what extent, would, therefore, be subjective. Subject to this limitation, I would like to dilate briefly on this aspect.

In approach to his job, the auditor resembles a judge. On the consideration of evidence before him, the judge tries to find out the truth of the matter. So does the auditor. On the basis of records, information and explanations rendered to him, he pronounces his opinion on the fairness and truthfulness of financial statements. Though the essential nature of the audit profession is identical with that of the judiciary, yet the profession can hardly lay claim to any inbuilt features investing it with the due degree of integrity and independence. As a matter of fact its structure shines in contrast with that of the judiciary. Unlike auditors, judges are appointed by the State. They do not look to the litigants for their appointment or continuity of office. They have no connections with those whose cases they decide. Against this, inherent in the present practice of audit are a number of factors which inhibit the auditor's independence. Let me pinpoint a few of them.

First, by far the bulk of audit fees comes from companies. Here the company law, by and large, envisages the appointment of the auditor generally by shareholders or directors and in certain cases by the government. By the very nature of things an auditor appointed by the directors over whose performance he is to sit in judgment, can hardly exercise his

independence fully and faithfully. In fact, such a scheme defeats the very purpose of audit. As regards the appointment of the auditor by shareholders, it is a well-known fact that in so many cases the shareholders are mere dummies of the directors. As such, the auditor appointed by them is no shade better than the one appointed by the directors. Otherwise also, in most cases, the shareholders are scattered over vast areas and consequently they do not attend general meetings at which they can exercise their power to appoint the auditor, and therefore have hardly any effective say in the appointment of auditors. Further, in the majority of cases the directors command the controlling shares and in the guise of shareholders, they act as the virtual appointing authority of the auditor. That is why cases are not wanting where auditors have danced to the tunes of the directors with a view to ensuring their appointment for next term.

A powerful lobby in the profession is against interfering with the present scheme on the ground that it is the inherent right of the investors, be they the directors or shareholders to appoint their own auditors. I am sure the absurdity of this contention would be self-evident if I am permitted to stretch it a little further. It would then be an equally well-founded right of the accused to sit as his own judge and an equally inherent right of the assessee to choose his own assessing officer!

Secondly, as said above, though the appointment of the auditor is generally made by the shareholders yet it is just on paper. Basically the appointment is made by the directors. Under the company law the appointing authority fixes the remuneration of auditors. In almost all cases the controlling interest is held by the directors. It is thus the directors as directors, or directors in the guise of shareholders, or directors having been invested with delegated power by the shareholders,

who actually fix the remuneration of the auditor. When his remuneration is fixed by those on whose performance the auditor sits in judgment, it is left to anybody's guess to find with what justification the auditor can boast of exercising his independence fully. The situation is no better in the case of government companies. No doubt, the law empowers the government to fix the auditor's remuneration, but there unfortunately the government practically in all cases seeks the approval of the directors before stamping the remuneration with the seal of its sanction.

Thirdly, the auditor seems to suffer from the lack of independence or at least the show of it when acting as an auditor he undertakes to render management services. When the accountant functions as an adviser he necessarily involves himself logically and emotionally in management decision and its outcome, and in this process he is likely to be biased in taking delicate decisions. Look at the balance sheets of a large number of corporations just to find that the payment for management services is much more than that for the audit. One who performs the audit function and management services for the same client, would naturally prefer to retain the client for such services and thereby relegate his job as an auditor to that of the adviser. Once management services are performed by the auditor, a equality of interest between the auditor and the management begins to sprout. The auditor gets an interest in the company, at least a financial interest dependent on his prestige as a successful adviser. This interest differs not in kind but only in degree from that of a member of the management team. In this situation one has every right to suspect that the auditor may succumb to pressures impinging upon his impartiality. In this process the loss of objectivity is helped a great deal by the highly

flexible accounting principles. It is not enough for the auditor to say that he is independent. On top, the third parties have a legitimate right to question his independence. The Securities and Exchange Commission (U.S.A.) has refused to recognise the independence of certified public accountants in a number of cases when the same accountant was acting as an auditor and at the same time was rendering management services. Similarly the Committee on Professional Ethics holds that if the auditor makes management decisions as a part of management services while serving the same client as an auditor, he will not be considered independent. Personally I think the performance of management services and auditing for the same client is a combination of incompatible services. The situation calls for separation of these two types of services. I hold that if auditing has to command the respect of all concerned, it must be independent and at the same time must appear to be independent, particularly if auditing lays claim to its proper place as a part of social control. There is no other way out.

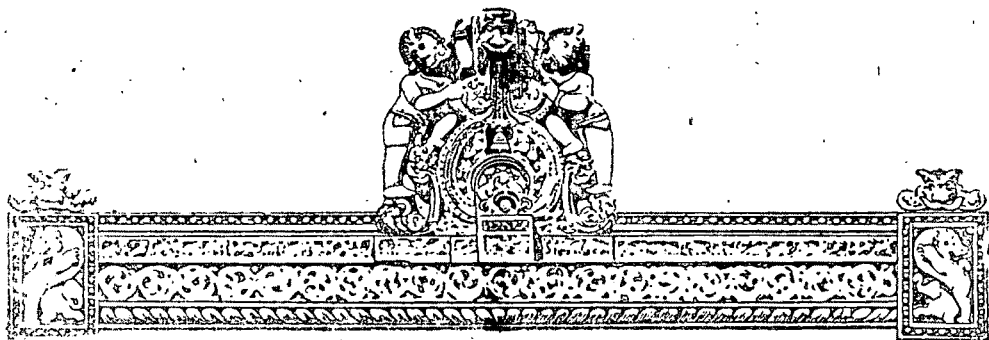
Fourthly, the present organisational set-up of the profession also poses a few problems to independence. There is a tendency of smaller firms growing into big firms and big firms into bigger ones. This necessarily calls for the completion of audit work through the medium of a large number of employees who may not be chartered accountants. In this process the direct contact between the client and the partners of the firm is greatly lost. One wonders whether the staff manned by unqualified persons can be taken to possess the same degree of independence as the partners of the firm. Further, if in a certain firm the major portion of the income is contributed by one single client, does it not denote its economic dependence on that client impinging upon its independence?

Times without number I have heard it said that independence is basically a state of mind. I do admit it is, and that a conscious auditor would have the guts of opposing and denying the wishes of those employing him. The question that troubles me is how many of us can afford to possess that state of mind particularly when we find that at the call of a client there are a very large number of persons offering their services as auditors on the same terms or even terms more favourable to the client. How many of us can resist the temptation of not subscribing to the wishes of the client when the prestige of an auditor is determined more by the luxuries he accumulates and rolls in than by the professional skill he possesses as an auditor? It is no wonder that the conscious auditor who resists the pressures of his client, is sooner than later replaced by another. The Gresham's law seems to come into operation.

The so-called restrictions under the company law for ensuring the continuance of the auditor are not effective. For example, if the

management wants to remove an auditor, the auditor just gets a right to make representations. If the nature of the representations is examined in depth it will appear that they are just in the nature of a right given to the auditor to cry while an injustice is being done to him but do not bestow any effective remedy on him to get the redressal of his grievance.

For the reasons stated above, one may not question the competence of the auditor but one has every right to suspect the exercise of independence by him. Czar's wife may be above board but at least does not appear to be so! In its present setting the profession looks like a body of competent persons shorn of independence. I feel if the profession can demonstrate that it does exercise independence both in reality and appearance there is no reason why it should not get its due share of audit and why it should not replace those who are presently engaged in the audit of accounts of the Central Government and State Governments.



CHALLENGES FOR THE EIGHTIES

Dr. B. R. S. GUPTA

Needless to add, 'Looking ahead' is a serious business. It must take the shape of an objective analysis of policies, programmes relating to economic growth. Eighties are now here. What these hold in store for mankind, politically, economically and socially, is difficult to tell about one may hope that the coming decade would be less turbulent and troublesome and more prosperous and peaceful. It is hoped that it would enable the mankind to realise some of its cherished goals and dreams that have been eluded so far.

It is an established fact that our society has become too much political. Our economic policies have become servient to and, indeed levers of political power. It is beyond doubt that a number of measures were taken not because they yielded any significant economic benefit to society but because they served the political ends of those who were in positions of authority. In such a system it is not surprising that progress which is much talked about always gets a second place.

In the future there is a great need to bind us more firmly to the national interests and for the purpose a new social consciousness is required. If this happens that picture will unfold itself can be so much better. I am firmly of the view that if economic growth is put at the centre of the stage even social problems will be solved automatically.

The economic scenario of the 1980's has to be considered in the context of three ever-riding considerations :—

- 1—Political situation ;
 - 2—Structure of economic policy ;
 - 3—Physical limits to growth ;
- The political stability is the sine qua non of

economic development. Along with a stable government, within a democratic framework, a strong government is equally important, which will make the system work both in form and spirit. Only a strong government is able to take economic decisions on purely economic considerations. Policy is not made an instrument in the political power game. In the past, when the government became weak drastic policies came to be adopted for their political advantage. In my humble opinion, in the 80's we shall have not only a stable but a strong government which is committed to development and will address itself to the economic task implicit in providing larger employment to the people and producing more goods which are required to improve the standard of living. The 20 Point Economic Programme shall be a boon to the depressed and oppressed classes of the society. It will eradicate not only poverty from the society but also create new employment opportunities to the unemployed class.

Development programmes have to be harmonised with the economic policies to ensure that the goals that are set out are actually achieved. The policy structure conditions the very process of growth. In India this factor has not been given due importance in the formulation of development programmes. Almost each Plan has been drawn up without any reference to the incentive and disincentives effect of the policies by which economic behaviour of the individuals is influenced. Needless to add, the terms and conditions on which loans and financial aid etc. are offered, have a very direct bearing on savings, investment, exports and ultimately on the rate of growth of production

and employment generation. The high degree of control of prices and distribution, excessive rate of personal and corporate taxation, the high rate of interest, the preoccupation with has been described as *concentration of economic power*. At the present moment, there is a great need for the reorientation of the measures which have come in the way of development, in order to achieve the growth that is possible and which should be harnessed in the coming decade.

In spite of the satisfactory development of agriculture, there has been an *imbalance between different kinds of crops*. The major imbalances that are discernible are between :—

- 1—cash crops and crops ; &
- 2—in foodgrains are between cereals and pulses.

Obviously, these imbalances need to be corrected because import of pulses in large quantities is not possible nor of cotton or oilseeds undertaken in large amounts without putting pressures on the balance of payments. To correct these imbalances, it is imperative that high-yielding varieties of seeds are developed through intensive research and also larger inputs like irrigation and fertilisers are provided. It should be necessary to tap at least 80% of the total irrigation potential. In the next ten years the area under irrigation should be increased from about 48 million hectares to 86 million hectares. The investment requirements will, no doubt, be large over Rs. 2,000 crores per year, on an average. The extension of irrigation would automatically put up gross cropped area to about 200 million hectares. This effort naturally should be supported by commensurate production and use of fertilisers.

In the 80's agriculture, by itself, would solve nearly 50% of the unemployment problem. It shall not be out of place to men-

tion that employment generation in agriculture would be nearly 21 million in the next ten years. Agricultural development is required not only to produce the mass consumption goods like food-grains, textile sugar, edible oils, etc, but also to generate employment opportunities particularly to workers in the rural areas who are either unemployed or only partly employed. It has been expressed by the planners and administrators that the employment potential in agriculture is much larger than what is usually believed. Employment is generated not only in activities like construction terracing, bunding, land reclamation, soil conservation, gully control, etc., but also on farms and post-harvest operations, including transport, warehousing and processing etc.

In the field of *Industry*, a new approach needs to be adopted in order to achieve the targeted growth and quicken the pace of the rate of growth already achieved. It has emphasised and estimated from industrial circles that there are over 4,000 different kinds of controls imposed by the centre and states. An entrepreneur has to undertake the development of industry within these parameters. Variety of controls which make it extremely difficult for new project to come up or expansions to be undertaken. Instances can be multiplied in this regard as follows :—

- 1—The Industries Development and Regulation Act ;
- 2—The Monopolies and Trade Restrictive Practices Act ;
- 3—The Foreign Exchange Regulation Act ;
- 4—Companies Act ;
- 5—Income Tax Act ;
- 6—Capital Issues Control ;
- 7—Import licensing ;
- 8—Import Regulations—formal and informal-pertaining to prices and distribution ;

Needless to add, that the government of

India recognise the adverse impact of controls on the economic development and had appointed the *Dagli Committee* which has recently submitted its report. The committee has pointed out that controls have administrative in character than 'overt' as they should have been. The burden of the song is that controls have stood in the way of smooth development. Even while arriving this simple proposition and conclusion the commission has gone the whole hog to suggest removal of controls, wherever possible. Rather the committee has only fiddled with some of the controls leaving their rigours almost intact. The only control which has been recommended for the execution is the *Capital Issues Control*. The verdict could have been extended to many other controls as well.

The whole approach of the government in regulating the industry has been *negative in character*. The original idea behind the industries (Development Regulation) Act was entirely different. It was to ensure that the development of industry is co-ordinated with the complimentary services that are needed namely, power, water, railways, etc. But in practice, industrial licensing became a method of rationing industrial projects between different entrepreneurs. Reinforced by the *Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act* the industrial policy became a means of keeping out the so-called large houses from undertaking development of industries except those which has been reserved for them. This had very severe repercussions not only because the sphere of operations of large industries became restricted but also because of the delays that were involved in getting government

permissions at each stage. The policy has, therefore, become, negative in character. Keeping in view the needs of Eighties, the Industrial policy shall require modifications which may be designed on the following lines :—

—Firstly; industrial licensing should be withdrawn in respect of small and medium units investing in any industry of large houses in any industry or large houses in industries involving investment of over 10 crores. The advantage is that small will compete with small and large will compete preventing cross competition and at the same time raising the level of efficiency and bringing down the cost of production to the minimum.

—Secondly; in industries with investment below Rs. 10 crores large houses should be permitted to invest only after getting a licence from the authorities. The intention is that large should not compete with small but at the same time there should not be a development gap. When the gap is visualised by the authorities large houses can be allowed to go into industries involving investment of less than Rs 10 crores.

—Thirdly; it is imperative that a built-in-growth of 5 to 10% per year must be accepted as a norm in all policy formulations. This should be allowed to all industries, including the large houses.

The widening of the entrepreneurial base is a desirable objective which must be pursued vigorously. Large industries will not compete with medium or small and lead to concentration of economic power to the detriment of the smaller enterprises.

LEFTISM AND LEFTIST UNITY IN INDIA

BIBHUTI BHUSAN BOSE

Leftism in India has assumed an altogether different meaning and significance after the attainment of so-called Independence. Before Independence i.e. 15th August, 1947 meaning of Leftism in India politics was the overthrow of British power by hook or by crook and unconditional or unqualified complete Independence. But, after the attainment of Independence Leftism in India has assumed an altogether different meaning. It means the complete overthrow of capitalist power and bringing about the regime of the dictatorship of proletariat.

Before Independence Subhas Chandra Bose formed a Left Consolidation Front in May, 1939 with the aim of overthrow of British power from India. With that aim in view, he gave a clarion call to all left and progressive forces in India to come under a common leftist forum. But, unfortunately, Congress Socialist Party and the Communist Party of India did not join in that Front. Only for a few days M. N. Roy, a veteran revolutionary and founder of Radical Democratic Party, joined in this Left Consolidation Front. Later on he was separated from the Front on the false plea that Subhas had a fascistic tendency in his political theory.

After the departure of Subhas Chandra from India's political firmament Leftism has got a set back. In the August Revolution of 1942 Radical Democratic Party and the Communist Party headed by M. N. Roy and P. C. Joshi played a second fiddle to the British Government. Labour Fronts of these two parties viz. Indian Federation of Labour and All India Trade Union Congress also became a

platform for British Government. The Communist Party went further than Radical Democratic Party and declared the Imperialistic war as people's war and described Subhas Chandra, hero of the I.N.A., as a Quisling or an enemy of the country. Congress Socialist Party, Revolution Communist Party of India, Revolutionary Socialist Party of India, Forward Bloc etc., however, joined in August Revolution and their leaders were kept in detention.

After the attainment of Independence the task of consolidating different Leftist parties in India was urgently needed. Meanwhile in 1947 Congress Socialist Party under the leadership of Jai Prakash Narain assumed the name 'Socialist Party of India'. In the beginning of 1948 at Patna an attempt was made to form a Left United Front under the leadership of Swami Sahajananda, who was a close friend of Subhas Chandra in 1939 in forming Left Consolidation Front. In that Front the Communist Party of India and Socialist Party did not join. In December, 1948 M. N. Roy an ardent advocate of Maxism who played a prominent part in Revolution in three continents i.e. America (Mexico), Europe (Russia) and Asia (China) disbanded his party formed in 1940 and started a movement for people's education in the political line. From Party Radical Democratic Party was converted into a movement and attempted to bring about a revolutionary change in India's political scene by Renaissance, People's Committee and Rationalism. In to her words, he abandoned the revolutionary colour and henceforth no longer was reckoned as a leftist force.

in India.

In this context came Sarat Chandra Bose, who was Leader of the Congress Party in Central Assembly in 1946, i.e. prior to Independence and who resigned from Congress Working Committee and the Congress Party on the issue of partition of India and Bengal on communal basis. Sarat Chandra endeavoured to assimilate all the progressive left parties in India and established United Socialist Organisation in October, 1949 on seventeen fundamental principles. Few of those which can even now be the basis of common platform of left parties in India, are mentioned below :—

- (1) Scientific Socialism i.e. Marxism should be the basis of unity of all socialist in India.
- (2) Abolition of landlordism.
- (3) Nationalisation of key and basic industries.
- (4) Nationalisation of foreign capital.
- (5) Boundaries of provinces to be redistributed according to language basis.
- (6) Free Education.
- (7) Food and shelter from State.
- (8) Hindusthani written in Roman Script should be the lingua franca of India.
- (9) Complete equality of sexes.
- (10) Military training should be made compulsory.

The basis of unity was Scientific Socialism or Marxism. But, unfortunately, Socialists did not join the United Socialist Organisation and the Communists were not invited as they owed their allegiance to a foreign power e.g. Soviet Russia. The organisation was meant for any party or organisation or individual who believed in that ideology. The Socialist Leader Jai Prakash Narain in a public meeting in Calcutta expressed his doubt about the successfulness of the Left Front organised by Sarat Chandra. According to him, different parties under different political ideologies and leadership

would not ultimately be able to remain united. However, he hoped that the noble endeavour of Sarat Chandra might be crowned with success. Instead of front he advocated a United Socialist Party. Rammonohar Lohia, another leader of the Socialist Party, invited Sarat Chandra to join the Socialist Party and strengthen it.

In the inaugural address Sarat Chandra expressed the hope of the gradually parties would forget their individual entities and that through common endeavour the existing Socialist leftist and progressive parties will gradually dissolve themselves and a United Socialist Party will evolve out of the United Socialist Congress. But, unfortunately that hope remained unfinished upto the present moment and the United Socialist Organisation was gradually disrupted. The Left United Front in different provinces had been started only with the one aim of defeating the ruling party, but those Left Parties were disrupted after the elections were over. This is the result of seven elections since 1952.

In 1951 Krishak Majdoor Party under the leadership of J. B. Kripalani emerged in political arena of India. In 1952 Krishak Praja Party was amalgamated with Socialist Party of India and assumed the name 'Praja Socialist Party' under the leadership of Jai Prakash Narain and J. B. Kripalani. Later on Forward Block (Subhasist) joined the Praja Socialist Party. In 1962 the Communist Party was divided into two parties—one as Communist Party of India under the leadership of S. A. Dange and another as Communist Party of India (Marxist) under the leadership of N. S. Namboodripad. In West Bengal Communist Party of India (Marxist) assumed its political power and is the biggest political party in that State. In Tipperah also it has gained political supremacy. In 1977 a new Party under Morarji Desai, Jai Prakash Narain and J. B. Kripalani

was formed under the name and style 'Janata Party'. It defeated Congress (Indira) in all provinces and at the Centre. But due to internal disputes it was divided and the President was forced to dissolve Parliament and held an untimely election in 1980. In that election again Indira Gandhi gained her political supremacy. Janata Party was formed on the basis of Gandhism and class-collaboration. It had no connection with the principles of Marxism. The Election Manifesto which was drafted in prison clearly laid down the basis of unity as Gandhism or class-collaboration. Moreover, a right reactionary Party, 'Jan Sangh', which was formed in 1951 under the leadership of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, joined in that Party. Hence, under no circumstances, it can be described as left force in India. It was rather a substitute of Congress (Indira) in Indian political arena.

This is, in short, the picture of political parties in India. Congress, Janata Party, Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha etc.,—all represent reactionary parties based on class-collaboration and communal frenzy. On the other hand, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Revolutionary Communist Party of India, Revolutionary Socialist Party of India, Forward Bloc, Socialist Unity Centre, Sanjukta Socialist Party formed by Rammonohar Lohia etc.—all

represent Leftist and progressive parties based on Scientific Socialism or Marxism. The task before the leftists is to unite all the leftist or Marxist or progressive parties and individuals who believe in Marxism in economic sphere on a common strong platform, and if possible, party on certain definite economic and political programmes. The task is not easy. Difficulties lie ahead in forming the United Socialist Party. Some socialist party will decry it as an unwarranted task. According to it, overthrow of capitalist forces through ballot box is not a solution and a left united party, however, strong and benevolent it may be, will be unable to solve our daily problem of food, shelter and education. But, it should be remembered that at the initial stage armed revolution will be crushed by strong capitalist government backed by military and foreign powers. Gradually they can come to desired end. Capture of power through parliamentary system is a first step and after that we can proceed to capture power by armed forces or armed revolution. This is the considered opinion of V. I. Lenin put forward in his book 'Left Wing Communism—an infantile disorder'.

Opinions expressed above may vary. But, we hope that a dispassionate discussion may be held among the educated masses about the ways and means of bringing about a peaceful and prosperous society in India. With that aim and hope we conclude our article.



HYPNOTISM IS SCIENCE NOT MAGIC

SANTOSH KUMAR DE

Hypnotism is not magic nor has it any mystery in it. It is a part of psychology. In the 19th century it developed from Mesmerism and received a considerable stimulus from its use in surgical operation. Before the discovery of anaesthetics, operations were performed under hypnotism. An English surgeon, James Braid by name after careful study of hypnotism came to know that the whole conception of magnetic fluid, magnetism and magic was false, but that the phenomena of sleep, anaesthesia, automatic obedience and so forth were consistently produced by psychological process which remained obscure for about a century because they had not been properly studied. He gave a new term to it namely Hypnotism.

After this hypnotism was studied by a number of physicians in France, England and America. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Charcot a French physician established hypnotism as a major clinical attraction of his famous clinics at the Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris in 1882. He had succeeded in securing the approval of the Academy of Science for those some cures by hypnotism which Mesmer, an Austrian, had practised in Paris a hundred years earlier. Soon after the establishment of this clinic, a wave of enthusiasm for hypnotism spread all over Europe, and students from Germany, Austria etc. came to Paris to witness Charcot's demonstrations. But Charcot's demonstrations were more spectacular than curative. He was soon challenged by Bernheim of Nancy. Bernheim showed that hypnotism far from being a morbid state peculiar to hysterical

cases was a state akin to normal sleep. He also proved that the manifestations demonstrated by Charcot in hypnotised patients were due to the suggestions of the operator. Charcot believed that hypnosis itself was a pathological entity and the capacity to be hypnotised was a sign of abnormality. It was this doctrine which separated the views of Charcot from those of Liebewalt; it had also the effect of confining the use of hypnosis in Paris to demonstration rather than to treatment.

None could understand the nature of sleep in hypnotism. Almost up to the last decade of the 19th century psychologists were ignorant of the real cause of hypnotism, and they failed to detect the fine line of demarcation between real sleep and hypnosis. It was Pavlov who demonstrated that when a superficial or sufficiently deep inhibition does not embrace the whole cerebral cortex, but only one or a number of its parts, it causes sleep only in those parts. This peculiar and partial sleep is the physiological basis of hypnotism.

When Charcot established his clinic in Paris, S. Freud who later on became the foremost psychologist fell in with him, and his more renowned pupil Janet—two investigators who had been studying the phenomena of hypnotism and had succeeded in demonstrating that under hypnosis all manner of physical symptoms could be induced by suggestion—burns, swelling, paralysis, anaesthesia, and so forth. They described the state produced by hypnosis as dissociation of consciousness and established the fact that in the hypnotic or dissociated state a person could have many ideas of which he was in his waking state total-

ly unaware. While Charcot and Jannet used hypnosis for the cure of physical disease, it never occurred to them that dissociated state of consciousness might be used as a means of diagnosing and dispersing mental troubles.

Freud now set up as a nerve specialist at Vienna was struggling hard to establish a practice in nervous and mental disorders. Sedative medicines, hydrotherapy, electrotherapy and hypnotism formed the entire armamentarium of mental physicians at that time. At this juncture he came in contact with a distinguished nerve specialist named Joseph Brewer who described to him a curious and interesting case he had recently had of a woman who was suffering from paralytic symptoms, disorders of speech and somnambulism. Brewer had hypnotised her and got her to talk of her symptoms under hypnosis. He found that in this condition she tended to trace back any given symptom to its origin, and moreover that each symptom when thus traced disappeared and did not recur. Brewer was a busy practitioner and had no time to pay necessary attention to such cases. He, therefore, called Freud to help him. Freud readily took up Brewer's suggestion and started to treat nervous patients according to his new plan. The results were very encouraging and soon several cures were reported. Then for several years both Brewer and Freud used hypnosis regularly, and Brewer was so satisfied with the method that he never departed from it. But it was not so with Freud. He soon found that cures by hypnosis were uncertain and often only temporary. In the course of treatment Freud found that improvement occurred only when certain significant but forgotten incidents in the patient's life came back to memory and when the communication of such information to the doctor was attended with appropriate emotional disturbances. Freud thought that it was the forgotten pent-

up emotion that remained as an obstacle in the mind that caused the nervous symptoms. Then Freud came to the view that it is a psychological rather than a physiological condition that acts as the inciter of the nervous disorders. Brewer and Freud soon parted company with each other owing to difference of opinion.

Now after this difference of opinion with Brewer, Freud was definite that it was the buried memory that caused the disease; so now his attention was directed to the revival of forgotten but significant affairs of the patient's life. The sympathetic and patient listening attitude of the physician was not always enough to bring to light some of the buried memories as many patients could not be hypnotised. He had seen the famous French hypnotist Bernheim removing post-hypnotic amnesia by repeated assurances accompanied by little pressure with hand on the head of the subject. A person under hypnosis may be made to behave in all sorts of queer manner but when he is roused from the hypnotic state, he cannot recall what happened to him during the trance; specially, if the hypnotiser happens to give him any suggestion to that effect. This loss of memory is called post-hypnotic amnesia. Freud thought that the amnesia of his patients and the post-hypnotic amnesia were of the same type and should yield to similar measures. So, when the patient failed to reveal any buried memory in connection with the disease, Freud would place his hand on the patient's forehead, exert a little pressure and assure him that the forgotten memory would now come into his mind. The result was satisfactory on the whole but there were occasions on which the patient would say that he remembered nothing. Under such circumstances, Freud would put more pressure and insist that the patient must speak out whatever came up in his mind. The thought that was produced under such condi-

tion was quite irrelevant; but Freud could detect nought for material even in this irrelevant thought. Out of this Freud discovered the technique of psychoanalysis. Thus finally Freud rejected hypnosis as a method for treatment of nervous disease.

As soon as Freud could realise the defect of pressure method, he adopted a new one which made him famous as a psychoanalyst. The patient was now taken to a semidarkened room and was allowed to lie or sit comfortably on a couch with closed eyes to relax his muscles. The patient was required to maintain a passive attitude and faithfully and honestly give utterance to every passing thought that came up into his mind without let or hindrance and without considering whether the material was relevant or irrelevant, moral or immoral. The physician would keep a note of the patient's thoughts and would gather his material and link up the thoughts from the apparent, detached or separate thoughts. The associational link remains unconscious to the patient, and it is a business of the physician to make it conscious.

It is in this unconscious region of the mind that the roots of the mental disease are to be found. This process of laying bare the unconscious or bringing into consciousness those unconscious elements in it and Super-ego which are in conflict with or untrue to reality is known as the Free Association Method and the analytical procedure for unearthing the unconscious by this process is known as Psycho-analysis. This is a difficult task, for the patient finds very soon the ideas which automatically produce a conflict with his sense of decency and decorum but he should not be allowed to do that. Freud finally abandoned hypnotism, as has already been said, as an aid to the revival of buried memory. The treatment that aims simply at the discharge of pentup emotions by arousing

the memory of the significant pathogenic past incident either by hypnosis or in any other manner is known as the Cathartic treatment. The cathartic method has been found very suitable in the treatment of war neurosis and shell-shock cases.

Following up and developing the theories of Charcot and Janet, Freud postulated three 'areas' or states of mind, the unconscious, the preconscious and the conscious.

The unconscious mind is the receptacle of our entire past experience from birth. The preconscious is the threshold between the conscious and the unconscious. It contains material that is not at the moment in the unconscious but can be recalled at will. Freud could now realise that in our ordinary working life ideas and impulses originate in the unconscious, where they are experienced as emotion but not thought in words. They either pass freely thence across the threshold of the pre-conscious into consciousness, or else are repressed before reaching the threshold and remain unconscious.

The earlier analysts considered that all inhibitions were removed by externalization, and that when the patient had realised mentally and emotionally the root of his difficulties they ceased to exist and he was able to deal with his problems. The result was a restoration of the health of the body and mind. The modern analyst realises that while this is often true it is by no means always so. He uses therefore more flexible technique adaptable as need arises.

But some psycho-therapists still make use of hypnosis either to get at deeply buried material or to induce temporary control in cases of insomnia, drug-taking, drinking etc. with the hope of thus setting up a contrary habit. It is also used in treating some types of insanity, where the mental derange-

ment is of such a nature that the patient with suggestion, is of course not at all the same thing. They are two entire different things. This should always be borne in mind.

It must be considered in this connection that hypnosis, while it is often confused

AN ATTEMPT TO LEGALISE THE FASCIST IN CHILE

KAREN KHACATUROV

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The Chilean dictator Pinochet intends "to legalise" the unlawful fascist regime and proclaim himself president for life. On Thursday, September 11, millions of Chileans will be driven to the ballot-boxes for a programmed approval of the "new constitution" at gun point. Even the very date of the pseudo-plebiscite is a cynical challenge: it coincides with the seventh anniversary of the overthrow of the legitimate Popular Unity government, the murder of the constitutional president and the eve of the 160th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Chilean state.

The independent development of Chile was broken off by a fascist putsch. Reactionary opposition and the military clique would have never taken the risk and would be unable to

stage a coup d'etat, without the support of US imperialism. The great Pablo Neruda very aptly called the Chile of those years: "quiet Vietnam".

Even today US imperialism continues to pursue the traditional policy of hegemonism with regard to its southern neighbours; in his speech in Alma-Ata on August 29 the Head of the Soviet state Leonid Brezhnev pointed out that Washington "rages over.....the advent of power of progressive regimes in Latin America..." The most progressive regime in the history of South America was the government of Popular Unity.

The attitude of any political leader and any government towards the destiny of the Chilean people became a touchstone of his or its actual attitude towards peace, democracy

and social progress. That is why millions upon millions of people on our planet, irrespective of their political views, ideological opinions and religious convictions demonstrated their resolve to do everything possible to save the long-suffering Chilean people from fascist tyranny.

Solidarity is always concrete. Today the main task of the world movement of solidarity with the Chilean people is to expose the plebiscite imposed by the Pinochet clique, and aimed at making the rotten fascist organism pass for a legitimate regime.

The role of Pinochet as a dictator no longer suits him and his overseas patrons. Therefore attempts are being made to crown the fascist satrap with the laurels of lawful "president". Therefore, on the anniversary of the fascist putsch, Pinochet's men intended to make Chileans, with threats and beatings, vote for the so-called "new constitution". By means of this shameless farce Pinochet tries to proclaim himself president for 8.5 years, securing for the fascist junta the right to re-elect him for the next eight years.

In reality, however, Pinochet does not even think of restricting his unlawful regime with any terms whatsoever. He blindly believes on its eternity as true catholics believe in immaculate conception. Quite recently Pinochet released a new literary opus, a book under the blasphemous title "Decisive Days. September 11, 1973," and with just as blasphemous epigraph: "Esteemed Generals, the motherland comes first!" In his book Pinochet prophesies: "Our mission will be over only at a time when the country will attain the social peace which is essential for genuine progress and economic development, and Chile will no longer be infected with hatred." It is only fascist junta that sows this hatred.

The farce of plebiscite is a real aggression

against the Chilean people, an act of criminal violence committed upon their will. Hitler paved his way to power approximately according to the same scenario and Pinochet regards himself as a zealous admirer of Hitler.

The holding of a plebiscite is against the law and its result will not have any juridical or moral validity. It is a fully falsified process which will be held without a register of voters and with the counting of the votes by the agents of the secret police. This is precisely how all the patriotic forces of Chile qualify the forthcoming farce, calling upon the people to frustrate the fascist provocation. Even many of Pinochet's assistants are trying to disown this provocation.

Why does the fascist junta need this plebiscite?

First, by means of this farce the gang of Pinochet is trying to somehow weaken the irreversible crisis of the fascist regime, achieve an illusory "social stability", impede the mounting struggle of the Chilean people against tyranny. Workers, peasants, employees, students, housewives, traders, professionals and the church participate in this staunch struggle. Chilean fascism, just as Latin American Fascism in general, has displayed the complete absence of mass support. On the other hand, cohesion is growing stronger between the parties of Popular Unity, as well as their understanding with the Christian-Democratic Party.

Second, by means of the plebiscite the Pinochet clique is trying to legalize its unlawful regime and gain international recognition. In this attempt the Chilean junta relies upon the support of the ruling circles in a number of Western countries, which strive, if it can be put this way, to coexist peacefully with the fascist regime. Washington fully ignores the general demands of the world

public on complete and consistent trade, economic, financial and diplomatic boycott of the fascist junta. Since the fascist coup American economic "aid" to Chile amounted to more than 2,000 million dollars. During the days when Mrs. Thatcher anathematized the British sportsmen who dared to disobey her and participated in the Moscow Olympics, the Tory cabinet normalised diplomatic relations with the fascist junta. This striking coincidence is yet another proof that rabit anti-Sovietism goes side by with the backing of the most extreme political reation.

Today Western propaganda is trying to suggest the idea that certain liberalization of the fascist regime is taking place in Chile. And to the accompaniment of this discordant melody the junta intensifies police terror. Not so long ago the Chilean commission on human rights forwarded to the United Nations Organisation a document entitled "A New Wave of Reprisals in Chile". The sixteen pages of its closely written text contained the list of concrete acts of terrorism, comitted by the junta only in the first half of this year.

The disgraceful policy of the Chinese leaders, teaming up with the fascist regime in all spheres, military included, arouses wrathful indignation. With their practical deeds the heirs of Mao prove that they are wholly on

the side of those who strangle the freedom and independence of peoples.

Today Pinochetism represents the most monstrous variety of Latin American fascism and reaction. The Bolivian gorillas who have recently staged a putsch and unleashed a bloody terror in this country, neighbouring on Chile, regard Pinochet as their godfather. The doomed regime in El Salvador is trying, with the help of US imperialism, to postpone its inevitable defeat. After the example of Pinochet the Uruguayan military clique is also going to stage in the very near future a farce of plebscite and consecrate the regime with a code of pseudo-constitutional norms. Indeed, Pinochet has quite a few followers in other Latin American countries. And the struggle against Chilean fascism is at the same time the struggle against the diverse forms of dangerous fascist plague.

That is why practical actions in the international campaign of solidarity with the Chilean people are not only a manifestation of humanism but also a contribution to stronger peace and security. After all, the cause of general peace is inseparable from the elimination of the fascist cancerous tumour on the body of our planet.

Issued by the Information Dept. of the
USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.



U. THANT AND WORLD PEACE

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

U Thant, the last Secretary General of the United Nations, died in November 1974. These notes are made as a memorial tribute for his services to mankind. During the ten years he led the world organization, U Thant untiringly devoted his life to the cause of world peace and to the wellbeing of mankind. He was respected not only for his political and moral integrity and courage to face vital issues, but also for his depth of good will and kind disposition as exemplary of Buddhist religion.

When he assumed office, the problems he had to cope with were fundamentally threefold: (1) Danger of the cold-war confrontation by rival Superpowers which might lead to catastrophic destruction of the world (2) Danger of tensions between developed and underdeveloped nations, especially racial and economic conflicts; (3) Danger of alienation caused by narrow nationalism from the goal of world peace and the ideal of the United Nations.

For U Thant, disheartening experiences were many. He frequently reminded fellow men: "Waves of change in Asia have been stirred by nationalism and not by Communism. America or any other power should not become the Policemen of Asia, where more than half of mankind lives. The great powers should support legitimate aspirations of the Asian people rather than support the status quo and reactionaries". The implication clearly was that none of those were in Indo-China, on the Indian subcontinent, or in the Middle East, was without involvement of the superpowers which opposed each other ideologically.

In short, U Thant's frustration was due to the fact that the function of the United Nations was hampered because of its charter defects and because of the rivalry between the two superpowers. These superpowers often flouted the will of the majority and ignored the U. N. whenever their selfish interest served them best, while the U. N. had no effective way to rectify this situation. Indeed, U Thant once trenchantly expressed his frustration, referring to his position as "tremendous responsibility" even devoid of the authority of sanction.

Despite these obstacles however, U Thant demonstrated his ability to deal quietly with crises and executed consistently his directives especially in (1) equitable extension of U. N. membership and (2) activation of various U. N. agencies. When the United Nations was founded in 1945 it had 51 members, all of which were industrialized and potentially rich nations. When U Thant took office in 1961, there were less than 100 members, but when he left the office in 1971, the total U. N. membership had risen to 130, the majority of which, however, were young underdeveloped and poor nations. U Thant used to take particular pride in the fact that under his leadership, the 15 specialized agencies became chief dispensers of multilateral, unilateral and unselfish technical assistance to the underdeveloped nations. The fact is that when some speak of the failures of the United Nations, they tend to forget to speak out for the noble and unselfish efforts of these organizations such as UNICEF, UNESCO, WHO etc., etc.

U Thant was especially concerned with the racial conflicts in South Africa, where apartheid is practised, which is a threat to world peace. Black Africans are relegated to an inferior place due to the pigment of their skin, and in consequence, are denied fraternity, freedom, and human dignity. As Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant actively applied two policies to face the issue. On the one hand, he supported the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to promote the co-operation of the peoples and leaders of the constituent nations toward solution of their confronting problems in South Africa, and achievement of their freedom and progress for international peace and security. With his sense of justice and honesty about the issue, U Thant, on the other hand, pressed the U. N. Decolonization Committee to search for ways to eliminate the vestiges of colonial rule and measures to rectify violations of the most fundamental human rights. He was confident that the committee could make a constructive contribution to the application of an effective solution, by following up the implementation of the relevant U. N. resolutions, by reviewing the situation regarding these problems, and by recommending further action as necessary for the attention of States and the competent U. N. bodies. Recent developments on the continent of South Africa certainly prove that U Thant's directives have gradually taken a concrete turn, such as the granting of Independence to Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) recently by the United Kingdom.

U Thant and the United Nations were also concerned with the growing economic gap between the industrialized and developing nations. When there is poverty in one area of the world and opulence in the other there is always tension. He was fully aware of the necessity of a globally administered system of economy. For instance, as prices of manufactured goods become dearer, and the prices

of primary agricultural commodities fall, rich countries consequently become richer and poor countries become poorer. At all U. N. economic conferences, U Thant emphatically demanded a world-wide synchronized economy to alleviate the distress of certain nations in the economic field, such as (1) trade relations with rich countries, (2) prices for primary goods, and (3) economic aid without strings attached. Currently mounting problems of oil resources and price-hikes, globally rising inflation, or phenomenal increases in population etc., ever more strongly confirm that U Thant's foresight will have to be eventually brought into actuality.

Throughout his tenure, U Thant persistently called attention to the central issue of the inability of the U. N. to play a peace-keeping role as an insurance against the recurrence of warfare as a solution for conflict, since no matter how successful U. N. subsidiary organizations may be, failure to keep peace will minimize their efforts. He appointed the Special Committee on Peace Keeping to study the subject. U Thant believed that mankind has to give the United Nations a mandate to establish peace-keeping machinery. His theoretical basis may be found in his statements on the Middle East. He said: "A home for Jews should be assured, but, should this be at the expense of the ousted Arabs?" "Narrow nationalism is one of the prime obstacles to world peace", and the problem of the Middle East is not simply a matter of narrow Jewish or Arab nationalism, because "the sovereignty of the individual is greater than the sovereignty of a state". Considering current pro-Arab and pro-Israeli tendencies throughout the world, U Thant's ideas seem to have clearly transcended both.

Perhaps the most rewarding event for U Thant was the admission of the Peoples' Republic of China to the United Nations, which took place a month before he retired

from office. He warmly welcomed this historic step which was long overdue, as China represents one fourth of mankind. Without her participation many problems that beset the United Nations, and the greater part of Asia—e.g. Korea, Indo-China, and Bangladesh—could not be settled. During his tenure in office and before, as Burma's Ambassador to the United Nations, he assiduously worked to get the Peking regime admitted to the world organization. It was one of the epoch-making steps for the world community to counter the polarization of the superpowers. Today the two or three superpowers no longer command immovable blocks as they did years ago. The cold war issues between them are gone and are replaced by matters of common interest to all mankind, such as economic transactions between advanced and backward nations, energy resources, the population explosion, the pollution of human habitats, international drug traffic, universal education, technical assistance, etc., etc.

While modern man has been haunted by the principle of separation between politics and religion, in U Thant there does not speak

to have existed any conflict between the two. As a Buddhist, he was fully aware of the folly of trying to settle the differences among men through force, compulsion, or violence. He was also aware of man's need to study and practise the way leading to the extinction of hate, greed, and delusion, the very roots of all conflicts. In his farewell speech before the United Nations, U Thant stated: "The United Nations in the annals of mankind is the most inclusive international body. Notwithstanding the multitude of unsolved problems the World Organization is surely overcoming its obstacles to serve mankind better". Furthermore, "What divides mankind? Greed, hatred, racism, inherited prejudices, and so on. The United Nations is a forum to overcome these maladies of our fellowmen and mankind as a whole". In short, the contribution U Thant, as a Buddhist, made by seeing political and religious actions as one, is twofold: He successfully maintained the credibility of the United Nations as the impartial arena of dialogue and upheld the image of its beneficial organization as committed to the equitable development of all nations.



RAJASTHANI FOLK SAYING ABOUT THE PREDICTION OF FAMINE

O. P. KACHHAWAHA

The climate of Rajasthan, West of Aravalies, is characterised by great extremes of temperature, erratic rainfall and frequent severe droughts. Rajasthan is primarily an agricultural state and, as in any other desert and semi-desert region, its agricultural production depends on rainfall. The arid zone is characterised not only by meagreness of precipitation, but also by uncertainty of time and amount of rainfall, which is fundamentally adverse to crops. All these peculiarities are graphically reflected in the folk sayings of Rajasthan.

The importance of rainfall, in an area where it is very scanty can be observed in the following proverb :

“Sau sandia sau karhala poot nipooti hoy’
Mehdala buta bhala jo dhukhiyaran hoy”

(Even at the cost of a hundred she-camels and their offspring and herself remaining without progeny the unhappy soul would still welcome rains.)

Rajasthan has been subjected to famines from the earliest times of which we have any record. In some of the districts of Rajasthan people generally expect one lean year in every three and one famine year in every eight. There is a popular couplet which tells us about the severity and extent of famines in Western Rajasthan :

“Pag Poongal, dhar Kotade bahu
Baharmer,
Babolo chooko Jodhpur, thavo Jaisalmer.”

[Famine's feet are fixed in Pungal (Western Bikaner), the trunk of its body is in Kotara (Western Barmer), and its hands extend unto Barmer. Now and then, it visits

Jodhpur but its permanent abode is in Jaisalmer.]

Although in this age of science a number of devices have been developed and the weather forecast is a definite aid to the agriculturists, the illiterate peasants still depend on their own observations, which have been recorded in proverbs, a common heritage of the farmers.

Most of the folk-lore, whether folk-tales, folk songs or proverbs, reflects the knowledge and wisdom of the people expressed in a straight-forward manner or through the interpretation of symptoms. This knowledge, derived from long experience and observation, is condensed and presented in a memorable way for the benefit of the coming generations. These sayings are a treasure of Rajasthani literature. As a sample, we can quote a number of verses describing various natural phenomena occurring just before the advent of serious famines.

Because of the peculiar geographic and climatic factors and recurrent famines, the people of the region have established a relationship between the natural phenomena occurring just before and during the famines and the likelihood of an impending scarcity due to famine. These phenomena are the direction of the wind, the patterns of clouds and the positions of the various heavenly bodies. These observations have been reduced to traditional proverbs or verses to aid the memory and the bequeath them to later generations. Some of these verses and folk sayings are worth quoting !

"Parbhate geh dambāra, sanjha seela bav,
Dank kahe sur Bhaddali, Kalan Tana
subhav."

[Darkening clouds in the morning, and cold winds in the evening, says Dank (the writer) to Bhaddali (his wife), are sure signs of famine.]

"Parbhate geh dambara, dofara tapant,
Ratoo tara nirmala, chēla Karo gachant."

(Darkening clouds in the morning, excessive heat at mid-day a cloudless night with shining stars, says the preceptor to his disciple, is a fit time to leave the (native) place, (because these are sure signs of an impending famine]

"Chait mas ujale pakh, nav din beej lukoi
rakh,
Atham nam neerat Kar joy, ja barse ja
durbhakh hoy."

(During the bright half of Chait, let there be no flash of lightening for the first nine days, especially on the 8th and 9th day. Wherever it rains during those days, it brings a sure famine.)

"Akha Rohan vayari, rakhi Srawan na
hoy,
Pohi mool na hoy, to mahi dolati joy."

[If there is no astericism (Nakshatras) Rohini on the Akhateej (3rd day of the bright half of Vaisakh (May) no, astericism srawan on the Rakshabandhan (last day of the bright half of Sawan (August), and no astericism Mool on the 15th day of the full moon of the Poh then people will be seen roaming about for foodgrain etc. i.e. there will be a sure famine.)

"Sawan vad akadasi, teen nakhattar joy,
Kirtka hove to karvari, rohan hoy sugal,
tuk yak ave miraglo (to) ade achityo
kal."

[If on the 11th day of, the dark half of Sawan the moon be present in the following

three astericisms, the effect will be as follows.]

If it is in *Kritika* (pleides) the year will be an ordinary one, if, in *Rohini* (Aldebran) the year will be a prosperous one, and if, in *Mrigashira* (Orion) it will be a famine year.]

"Sawan pahale pakh men jo tithi UNi
joy,

Kai ek kai ek des me, tabar beche may."

[If there be a lunar day (Tithi) beginning after sunrise and ending before sunrise during the dark half of Sawan, somewhere in the country mothers will have to sell their children (to get food) (so severe will be the famine)]

"SawaN pahali panchami, jo baja banu
bay,

Kal pade sahu des men, minakh minakh ne
Khay,"

(If on the fifth day of Sawan, the winds blow strong, a famine will prevail throughout the land, and man will eat man.)

"Barse bharaNi, chode parani."

[If it rains when the moon is in the astericism of *Bharani* (from 25th April to 8th May) a husband may have to abandon his wife.

i.e. the famine expected will be such severity that the husband will not be able to support even his partner-in-life and may be compelled to abandon her.]

"Pahali rohaN jal hare, biji bahottar khay,
tiji rohaN tiN hare, chouthi samandar
jay."

(If it rains in the first quarter of *Rohini*, there will be a severe famine, if, in the second quarter, it will stop the monsoon for seventy two days ; if in the third quarter, it will take away all the grass. But, rains in the 4th quarter will bring heavy monsoons and the water will flow down to the seas).

"Magha meh machant, kai gachant."

[Either it should rain when the moon is in the *magha* astericism or the people will have to migrate. (from their native country)].

"Mirga bav na bajio, rohan tapi na Jeth,
Ka nai bandho jhoor-pado baitho badle
het."

[If in the month of *Jeth* no winds blow during astericism *Mirga* (6th June to 19th June), and it is not very hot during *Rohini* (from 2nd May to 5th June) (from 20th June to 3rd July), why should you build a hut? You will have to live under a banyan tree. You will be rendered homeless on account of famine and consequent emigration.)

"Nada tankan balad bikavan,
Mat baje toon adhe sawan,"

[O you *Nara Tankan* (South easterly wind), don't blow in the middle of *Sawan* (August), it will make me sell my bullocks. (i.e. the year will be a famine year.)]

"Mah mangal Jeth ravi, Bhadarvai san
hoy,
Dank kahe he Bhaddali, birala jeeve
Koy."

[If there be five tuesday in the month of *Magh* (January-February), five sundays in *Jeth* (May-June) and five saturdays in *Bhaden* (August-September), Dank says to *Bhaddali*, so severe will be the famine that few will survive.]

"Adhe Jeth amavsay, ravi athi to jo,
Dee jo cando unagasee, to sakh bharela
soy,

Uttar hoy to atibhalo, dakhani hoy dukal,
Ravi mathe sashi athame, to adho ek
sugal."

[Note the position of the setting sun on the 15th day of the dark half of *Jeth*. If on the 2nd day of the next bright, the new moon rises to the north of that place, it augurs a

very good year. And, if to the south, famine will follow. And, if it appears just at the point where the sun had set, the year will be a lean one.]

"Asade dhur asthami, chand uganto joy,
Kalo ve to karvaro, dhola ve to sugal,
Je chando nirmal hove, to pace achintyo-
Kal,"

(On the 8th day of the dark half of *Asadh*, watch the rising of the moon. If it rises in black clouds, the year will be an ordinary one, if in white, the year will be a good one and if the sky is cloudless, there will be an unimaginable famine)

"Do Sawon, do Bhadava, do Kati, do
Mah,

dhandha dhori bechkar, naj bisavan jah."

(If there be two *Sawan*s, two *Bhadvas*, two *Krittikas* and two *Maghas*, sell your herds and buy foodgrains because there will be sure famine)

"Magh sudi poonam divas chand nirmalo
joy,
pasu bscho, kan sangraho, ka halahal
hoy."

(If a clear moon is visible on the 15th day of the full moon in the month of *Magh*, it is a sure sign of impending famine. So, sell your herds and store foodgrain.)

"Nimba adhar nimboli sukhe,
Kal pade kabahun nahi chooke "

(If the fruit of the *Neem* tree drives on the tree it self after ripening and does not fall to the ground, it is a sure sign of famine.)

"Ratyun bole kagala, din men bole syal,
Kai nagari raja mare kai pade achooko
kal,"

(If the crow caws at night and the jackals bay during the day these indicate either the death of a celebrity or the coming of a famine.)

All these proverbs and folk sayings reveal the precision of the people's observation, their wisdom and their literary talent. Their significance lies in their utility from a socio-economic point of view, especially in the case where the bulk of the peasant population is either unaware of or unable to

utilise the technologically oriented meteorological information available through the radio and the news papers. These aphorisms provide a readymade guide to the layman and warn him well in time about the coming of famines.

Current Affairs

Jharia Rehabilitation to Cost Rs. 2000 Crores.

Asansol, October 29. Bharat Coking Coal Limited has prepared a master plan to rehabilitate about three lakh population of the localities threatened with danger of underground fire in the Jharia Coalfields according to official sources. The sources said that the capital cost for implementing the scheme would be about rupees 2000 crores and it would take nearly ten years to complete the scheme. According to the scheme, a number of modern towns with all the amenities would be built on the solid lands where there is no coal underneath elsewhere and adjacent to Dhanbad town the official sources said.

Meanwhile, BCCL would spend about

rupees five crores to plug the fire areas in Jharia Coalfields including Jharia town as a measure to check spread of fire it is said. The Directorate General of Mines Safety declared the Jharia Town and some other localities in Jharia Coalfields as unsafe for human habitation because of underground fire. The people of the affected areas, however, are said to be reluctant to leave their ancestral hearth and home where they are living generations after generations and a resistance committee has been formed against evacuating their ancestral homes it is learnt. "Coal Field Tribune"

Follow thy Example

Mother Teresa has so far given solace to

80,000 dying destitutes in Nirmal Hriday at Kalighat since 1952, when she approached the Corporation of Calcutta for a place where the most neglected of people, those dying in the streets, could be given a humane farewell. Since then she has been working in close co-operation with the Corporation.

In the city of Calcutta quite a number of people live on the footpaths, below the barest minimum subsistence level. Their lot cannot be bettered without a radical change in the social system. But, meanwhile what service can we render to these unfortunate many? Mother provides the answer with her selfless dedication in the cause of the 'poorest of the poor'. She, along with the Sisters of the Missionaries of Charity, have set an example of service among the 'poorest of the poor' in Calcutta and other centres, which has no parallel. Thus, the Noble Peace Prize awarded to Mother Teresa is an acceptance of the poor and their cause. We, on behalf of the citizens of Calcutta, feel proud because Mother Teresa, a citizen of Calcutta, has been selected for this singular honour. It is, after all, in Calcutta that Mother decided to devote her life in the service of the poor and founded her Missionaries of Charity, which today is an international organisation.

To express such and like emotions on behalf of the citizens of Calcutta Mother was accorded a Civic Reception in the lawn of the Central Municipal Office buildings on 4th December. But such a felicitation is not enough if we do not emulate the example of service for the poor set by Mother. We request all benevolent organisations to come forward and lend a helping hand to Mother and the Missionaries of Charity, as Calcutta Corporation has pledged on the memorable occasion to continue the glorious tradition of service to the poor.

Let us declare in united voice—Mother, WE SHALL FOLLOW THY EXAMPLE; in the

service of the 'poorest of the poor'. Calcutta, with all her problems, has many reasons to feel proud for but Mother Teresa is an unique example, not only to the citizens of Calcutta, from where she operates her Missionaries of Charity the world over, but to the international community which believes in service for the downtrodden of the earth.—"The Calcutta Municipal Gazette."

Nobel Prizes : 1979

PHYSICS :

This year's Nobel Prize in Physics will be shared by Abdus Salam of Imperial College, London and the International Centre for Theoretical Physics (ICTP), Trieste and Steven Weinberg and Sheldon Glashow of Harvard University.

Salam and Weinberg's unified model of weak and electromagnetic interactions has stimulated a vigorous growth of particle physics and a resurgence of quantum field theory over the last decade or so. It has found corroboration in an increasing number of experiments, though its final triumph and acceptance must of course lie in the discovery of the heavy counterparts of the photon which it predicts. One of its predictions, however, namely the existence of weak neutral currents together with the associated parity violation has already been confirmed. It is here therefore that the theory is already on strong grounds. Glashow played a key role in the prediction of this weak neutral current quite independently of the Salam-Weinberg model. He has also successfully extended the model to hadrons—an exercise that led him (with Iliopoulos and Maiani) to predict "charm", a new property of matter. Charmed hadrons (strongly interacting particles) were discovered in 1976.

Chemistry :

The Nobel Prize in Chemistry has gone this year to two eminent organic chemists for their

discovery of newer methods of synthesis in organic chemistry. Professor H. C. Brown (67) of Purdue University, Indiana, U. S. A. has been honoured for his work relating to organic boron compounds. Professor George Witting (82) of Heidelberg University, West Germany has been awarded the prize for developing a phosphorus reagent for the conversion of a carbonyl compound to an alkene. Both these reactions advanced the rapidly moving facets of organic chemistry by their application in various fields. These reactions have been used as synthetic tools in organic reaction giving access to difficult organic syntheses.

Medicine And Physiology :

The 1979 Nobel Prize for medicine and physiology has been awarded to Mr. Allen MacLeod Cormack of U. S. A. and Mr. Godfrey Newbold Hounsfield of Britain ; both non-medical persons and the prize was awarded for applied instead of basic research. Mr. Cormack is a physicist at the Tufts University in Medford, Massachusetts and Mr. Hounsfield is an engineer at EMI, a British company. They pioneered in the research on computerised axial tomography, 'CAT' for short and worked independently of each other. Surprisingly neither of them has ever won a doctoral degree.

The CAT scanners have revolutionised medical diagnosis of brain tumours and are equally adept at spotting abnormalities of spinal chord and kidney and a variety of tumours. The technique also shows great promise in the diagnosis of lung and other cancers and liver disorders. The procedure is painless and has almost eliminated the need for exploratory surgeries and risky diagnostic tests.

Peace

Mother Teresa, the recipient of the Nobel Prize for Peace for 1979, was born Agnes

Gonxha Bejoxhiu in Skopje. Yugoslavia in a catholic family of Albanian descent. She joined the Irish order of the sisters of Loreto at the early age of nineteen. She opted to come to Calcutta when she learnt about the work done by the sisters here. Thereafter her's has been a life of dedication ; first to the cause of teaching and next service of the dying destitutes, unwanted children, lepers, the mentally sick and the poorest of the poor.

Her early novitiate was in Darjeeling (West Bengal). Then she came over to St. Mary's High School in Calcutta, where she was principal for some time. She was also in charge of the Daughters of St. Anne, the Indian religious order, related to the Loreto order. Her room in the convent overlooked the Moti Jheel Slum. The sights of squalor, sickness and poverty she saw daily, touched her. Her thoughts constantly dwelt upon these people and she realised that there was a lot more for her to do to serve the country she had come to serve. She sensed the colossal task ahead of her and she accepted the challenge of serving the poor. She had to be an Indian and be one of them to be accepted by them. Pondering over all these she was restless. Twice she felt the Lord had spoken to her beckoning her to her real task. Because of her immense faith in the Lord, she accepted His command and with complete self surrender unto His wishes she decided her future.

She started to work among the slum dwellers teaching the children and administering whatever medicines she could lay her hands upon. For two years she worked among them preparing herself for the real task ahead.

She applied for permission from her superiors as well as from Rome to derobe herself. When she was granted the permission, little did any one know the beautiful and loving manner in which this frail little lady with a big heart would declare war of love and care

against poverty, sickness and abandoned humanity. To be accepted by them for whose cause she started working she took Indian citizenship.

She left the convent with barely five rupees in her pocket. Single handed and with no resources whatever she got down to her job immediately. Her attention was directed to the sick and aged lying on the street uncared for and unwanted. Picking up a sick man she tried to admit him to any hospital that would take him. But she found not a single one in this large city of Calcutta was prepared to open its doors to the dying sick and the helpless. Mother Teresa had no other choice but to care for him and soothe his pain on the footpath itself. At least at the time of death he had some one to turn to. Soon she had a horde of people to attend to but no place to take them to. Michael Gomes gave her shelter but a place had to be found for the sick. St. Teresa's Church offered her a corner of its premises but soon she had the place overflowing. Gradually she had young girls voluntarily helping her and willing to walk in her footsteps. With Mother Teresa's work gathering momentum there grew a general awareness among the public and help began to pour in cash and in kind.

Mother Teresa imposed upon herself and the girls rigorous discipline and a diet of rice and salt. The girls took to it cheerfully. Soon the order of the Sisters of Charity was formed.

Once Mother Teresa had this movement on its feet, her thoughts turned to forming a school in the Moti Jheel slum. She started a small school with a lone table and teaching the alphabet on sand. Soon the requisites of a class room were donated one by one and to top it all an unknown gentleman helped her with cash for the construction of the school.

Along her deep concern for the dying destitutes was searching for a way to express

itself. She could not bear to think of any human being dying uncared for like a street dog. Her constant entreaties to the Calcutta Corporation helped her to find a home for the dying destitutes. They gave her a Dharmasala (free rest house) near the Kali Temple. She had to face a lot of opposition from the local youngsters because to them she was apparently a white missionary—an outsider. The complaint against her went to the Police Commissioner whose personal intervention proved her good intentions. In her mission to serve mankind, religion, caste or creed hardly mattered to her. In a likewise manner help came to her from people from all walks of life. No one thinks of Mother Teresa in terms of her religion but as a great soul and a saviour of the helpless. Thus was born the Nirmal Hridaya (Pure at heart). It is a haven of peace and solace to the dying—where they can at least die with a smile on their lips.

Mother Teresa's mission did not stop there. Next she formed a colony for lepers at Dhapa, a suburb of Calcutta. Her heart reached out to those who were most degraded in life and to whom no form of help whatsoever was offered. Into those lives she sought to bring joy and to them she convinced the necessity to live and prove their usefulness to the society.

Mother Teresa's conquests have known no boundaries. The manner in which she along with her sisters toiled for the Bangla Desh refugees is overwhelming. They knew neither rest nor sleep. Cheerfully they cared for the refugees combating sickness and infection.

She has taken in her stride to look after and care for the unwanted children and help find them happy homes and parents. Constantly she advises the doctors to desist from performing abortions and allow the gifts of God to see the light of day. She proposes to fight abortion with adoption.

She has accepted the task of caring for the mentally retarded. Asking the destitute

children to clear the green cocoanut shells from the streets she has mitigated to a certain extent the garbage problem of the Calcutta Corporation. These are later used for making ropes, thus teaching the children to be self-reliant.

This mission of love that initially started in Calcutta has grown large enough to embrace the world at large. To Mother, the poverty of neglect and the loneliness of the affluent countries is as alarming as the material poverty of the poor countries. Her Missions of Charity has spread to the poorer sections of New York, Belfast in Ireland, Rome, South America, Africa, Australia, Gaza Strip in Israel, Vietnam, London, Jordan and Sri Lanka. To shoulder the work amongst dangerous alcoholics, drug addicts and delinquents, Father Andrews under the guidance of Mother Teresa has formed the Brothers of the Order.

The numerous awards she has won reveals the recognition and appreciation her devotion to the cause of the down trodden is gaining. The very first award she received was the Padmashree in 1962 followed by the Magsaysay award; Jawaharlal award for International Understanding in 1969; the Peace Prize by Pope Paul VI in 1971; The Good Samaritan award of the U.S. A. in 1971; John F. Kennedy International award in 1971; Templeton award for Progress in Religion in 1973; Mater et Magistra award in 1974; Third order of St. Francis of Assisi in 1974; and finally Nobel Peace Prize in 1979. To better the Nobel Prize monetarily the Norwegian people's special gift to Mother Teresa has reached 925,000 kroners (Rs. 1,500,000) and is expected to amount to one million kroners by January 10, when the nation wide collection ends.

The purpose of the Prize would be sanctified even if it were to be awarded to her every year, as day in and day out year in and year

out, this unassuming lady of the poorest of the poor is quietly winning laurels in the humanitarian field. On no better cause could the Peace Prize money be spent upon than on which Mother Teresa plans to spend it. ("S. B. Baliga In Science and Culture".)

USSR—India : A New Summit

By Nikolai Obotov, Novosti Analyst

It has been announced in Moscow that Leonid Brezhnev will pay an official friendly visit to India in the first half of December, 1980. Lying ahead is great work the pivot of which will be doubtless the meetings and talks of the Soviet leader with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India. The two outstanding politicians will hold a serious and frank talk about the problems which are in the centre of attention of the world public.

Leonid Brezhnev and Indira Gandhi know and understand each other well. They have met more than once, and one of their meetings took place in Belgrade this year. Each of these meetings marked new milestones in the progressive development of Soviet-Indian relations. The latest official talks between Brezhnev and Gandhi were held in 1976.

When the friendship and cooperation between India and the Soviet Union are discussed it is always stressed that these relations meet the basic interests of the two peoples and, therefore, are not subject to the influence of time-serving considerations, and have successfully withstood the test of time. For more than nine years the equal and mutually advantageous Soviet-Indian relations rest on the firm foundation of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. The historical visit paid by Leonid Brezhnev to India in 1973 provided fresh mighty impulses to their further development. The words said by the Soviet leader at the mass meeting at the Red Fort grounds in New Delhi have proved to be truly prophetic. The Treaty, we concluded, resembles a compass pointing to the course

into the future", Leonid Brezhnev said. "We are convinced that this is the correct course. It accords with the fundamental interests of the peoples of our countries".

The activities of the forces which unleashed an aggression against Afghanistan and continue it cannot be assessed in any other way but as a direct threat to the security and independence of the peoples in the Middle East and Southwest and South Asia. Last but not least, the massive military preparations of the USA and other imperialist powers in the Indian Ocean cause concern among the peace-loving nations of South Asia.

In this context, the cooperation of the Soviet Union and India in the international arena is important and imperative as never before. The Soviet people are aware of the well-deserved prestige won in the world by the peaceable policy of India, a great Asian power, the policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-alignment. "We know well", Leonid Brezhnev says, "that the policy of the government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi—an outstanding stateswoman of present-day Asia—is notable for peaceableness, common sense and realism."

It is the Soviet Union's firm conviction that there are opportunities for the further deepening of our countries' cooperation in order to resolve the pressing international problems and to produce a positive effect on the development of the political situation in the world.

Moscow does not doubt that the wisdom and experience of Leonid Brezhnev and Indira Gandhi and their discussion of the problems of mutual interest will serve further progress of Soviet-Indian relations and the cause of stronger peace in Asia and throughout the world.

—Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

Indian Ocean : Source Of Great Alarm

V. Shurygin, 'Pravda' Staff Correspondent

The important role played by the Indian Ocean for India can hardly be exaggerated. That is why India and other countries of the region are greatly alarmed by the recent course of events in the Indian Ocean. They have serious reasons to be alarmed. Nine years have passed since the 26th session of the UN General Assembly which adopted the declaration in turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. However, the declaration has not been fulfilled. More than that, military preparations conducted by the United States and its allies increasingly turn the Indian Ocean into a site for the stepped-up arms race and a source of international tension.

Since 1972 the US navy has despatched 18 big task forces to the Indian Ocean : which stayed there upto two months. Dozens of US warships led by two aircraft carriers are now plying the Indian Ocean. A network of US military bases is being established in Zanzibar, Somalia and Kenya. Work is coming to an end on the enlargement and modernisation of the Diego Garcia naval and air force base to cater to nuclear-equipped submarines and B-52 strategic bombers. The United States is also vigorously expanding the network of its bases in Australia and Southeast Asia.

US-Chinese rapprochement on the basis of the division of spheres of influence is a major direction of America's policy in Asia.

The Indian Ocean washes the coasts of three India's neighbours—Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. The growing US military presence in the region has the aim of influencing the policy of the coastal states.

At present Pakistan is the only South Asian country to have allied commitments to the United States under the 1959 Pakistani-US Agreement. Incidentally, this agreement is of military character.

The disintegration of the SEATO and CENTO military blocs, the fall of the Shah in Iran and the revolution in Afghanistan have increased the role Pakistan plays in America's policy as a base from which Washington implements its imperialist aspirations in the region. Nowadays the United States expresses its readiness to render Pakistan military aid and "to fulfil the commitments under the 1959 treaty". With the support of the United States and China, Pakistani leaders began making statements complicating Islamabad's relations with Delhi. Thus, during his recent visit to Delhi the Pakistani Foreign Minister raised the question about the self-determination of Kashmir. Delhi evaluated the publication of instigatory articles and commentaries on the position of Indian Moslems in the Pakistani press as gross interference in the affairs of India.

The Palk Strait separates India's southernmost part from Sri Lanka. Relations of friendship have traditionally connected Delhi and Colombo. Sri Lanka initiated the proposal for turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. However, considerable changes have taken place on the domestic political stage of Sri Lanka in recent years.

The Delhi newspaper National Herald recently reported a visit to Sri Lanka by a group of ships of the US Seventh Fleet. According to the American press, during that "inspection" tour the fleet's commander Vice-Admiral A. Trosh had "a private talk" with President Jayawardene of Sri Lanka. Commenting on that visit, an independent Lanka weekly pointed out that of late Washington had been making ever more persistent efforts to get permission to use Sri Lanka's ports and airfields for the needs of the Pentagon. The Colombo newspaper Nation explained that the United States was urging

the signing of an agreement which would enable it to use a naval base at Trincomalee and an air-base in exchange for "the American dollars which the current government of Sri Lanka needs so badly." It is not hard to foresee the consequences of such an agreement for India and the region as a whole.

Bangladesh and Burma, two countries bordering on India, are situated on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. According to foreign press reports, the Chittagong mountainous region of Bangladesh is a haven for separatist elements operating in the north-eastern states of India. From there, through northern Burma where Burmese anti-government rebel forces operate with a backing from Peking, Naga, Mizo and other Indian separatists reach China where they are instructed in the methods of conducting guerrilla warfare.

The Indian press also carried reports saying that Peking planned to create the so-called "independent" buffer states in the north-east of India. Along with some regions of Burma and Thailand they would form a kind of corridor for China to reach the warm Bay of Bengal.

To sum up, the escalation of US military and political activity in the Indian Ocean and American-Chinese co-operation pose a real threat to India's national security.

Like all countries in the region, India is interested in having peace in the Indian Ocean. In the past decade India's representatives at many international conferences emphasised their commitment to the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. India's Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao recently said that India would consistently pursue this policy at the coming international conference on the Indian Ocean which is to be held under the aegis of the United Nations in Colombo in 1981. India also supports Mauritius' demand

that the latter should be returned Diego Garcia.

The country's democratic forces, particularly the Communists, demand that India, using its authority among the non-aligned states, especially those situated in the Indian Ocean

region, step up the campaign against the imperialist plans of turning the Indian Ocean into a dangerous testing ground and a source of international tension.

—Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Colcutta.

PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGES IN INDIA

NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

In every democratic state, the legislatures and their members enjoy certain rights and immunities for the adequate discharge of their duties. These rights are absolutely necessary, because without them, the popular representatives cannot exercise their constitutional and moral duties of social uplift. In India also, the constitution contains certain privileges for the Central and provincial legislators so that they may effectively participate in the debates, ventilate public grievances and criticise the government without fear or inhibition.

Original Arrangement :

Under Articles 105 and 194, the constitu-

tion offers some privileges to the Parliament and state legislatures. Art. 105, the provisions whereof are mutatis mutandis similar to those of Art. 195, lay down.

1) Subject to the provisions of this constitution and to the rules and standing orders regulating the procedure of Parliament, there shall be freedom of speech in Parliament.

2) No member of Parliament shall be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in Parliament or any committee thereof, and no person shall be so liable in respect of publication by or under the authority of either House

of Parliament of any report, paper, votes or proceedings.

3) In other respects, the powers, immunities and privileges of each House of Parliament, and of the members and committees of each House, shall be such as may from time to time be defined by Parliament by law, and, until so defined, shall be those of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and the members and committees thereof at the commencement of this constitution.

Thus, no member of Parliament is liable to legal action for any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in Parliament or any committee thereof. But the wide freedom does not mean licence. This is subject to the standing orders regulating the procedure of Parliament and the provisions of the constitution. Thus, D. D. Basu opines, Articles 19(2), 118 and 121 have imposed some limitations on the freedom of speech as clause (1) suggests.

In Clause (2), however, the fetter is removed and the members have been given unqualified freedom of speech and choice. The only protection against the abuse of such privilege is in the hands of the Speaker.² But the Supreme Court has held that this immunity does not extend to speeches or articles made and written outside the precincts of the legislature, (Jatish V. Harisadhan).

In other respects, however, the privileges of the members of our Parliament shall be the same as those of the House of Commons as they existed at the commencement of the constitution until our Parliament and state legislatures themselves determine by appropriate legislations their privileges and immunities. No such legislation, it may be noted, has yet been enacted by Parliament or State legislatures. Therefore, Parliament and its members (also legislators of the states), and committees thereof enjoy the immunities,

privileges and powers of the British House of Commons.

The privileges of the House of Commons, and eventually these of our legislatures, may be divided into two groups—(1) those which are enjoyed by the members individually and (2) those which belong to each House of Parliament as a body.

Freedoms to be enjoyed individually :

(a) Freedom from Arrest: During the meeting of Parliament or any of its committees, the members thereof are immune from arrest in Civil cases. The members enjoy this immunity for a period of 40 days before and after such meeting. But such immunity is not extended during the recess of the session (Atmarama V. Raj Narain) and does not apply to criminal cases and those of preventive detention (State of W. B. V. Ansumali).

As the British judiciary maintained in the case of Stockdale V. Hansard the right to determine the nature and limit of Parliamentary privileges, crimes committed in the precincts of Parliament can be punished by the Ordinary courts. Though such events have not yet occurred either in England or India, it is highly unlikely that the police would wait for normal technicalities if serious crimes, like murder, have been committed within the House.³

During the meeting of the Parliament or committees thereof, the members are also immune from attending the courts as jurors or witnesses.

(b) Freedom of speech: There will be freedom of speech for the Parliamentarians within the boundary of each House. Thus while an ordinary citizen's right of speech is subject to restrictions as enshrined in Art. 19(2), the members of the legislature will have a far wider opportunity of individual expression. But this does not, however, mean an unrestricted licence. First, the freedom of speech is subject to rules framed by the

House". Secondly, our constitution itself imposes another restriction upon the freedom of speech in Parliament namely, that the conduct of a Supreme Court or High Court Judge will remain outside of criticism except upon a motion for the removal of particular judge or judges.

Collective Privileges :

Some privileges are enjoyed by the members collectively :

a) Right to exclude strangers : In order to maintain the secrecy of proceedings of each House of Parliament, the speaker or the Chairman has the right to order withdrawal of strangers from the House. Of course, such drastic measures are adopted during abnormal situations of national crisis. Even in times of peace, this power may have been exercised to maintain order and discipline in the House.

b) Right to control internal proceedings : Like the British House of Commons, each House of the Indian Parliament (and the state legislatures) has the right to control and regulate its proceedings free from even judicial interference. Inside the Houses, the members are immune from proceedings in any court of law in respect of anything said or any vote given by them and the decision of the Speakers in the regulation of the internal proceedings of the House is final and absolute (Supreme Court—in *Sharma V. Shri Krishna*).

c) The British House of Commons reserves to itself the power to punish its members and the outsiders for the breach of the privileges of the House. Thus, the House can punish anybody for contempt of itself or for that of any member. The punishment may take the form of admonition, reprimand and even imprisonment. A person so imprisoned, for alleged ground of contempt of Parliament, is, however, released when the session of the House comes to an end.

What constitutes breach of Parliamentary

privilege or contempt of parliament is settled in England in several cases. To quote Erskine May : An act of omission or commission which obstructs or impedes either House of Parliament in the performance of its functions or which obstructs or impedes any member or officer of such House in the discharge of his duty or which has a tendency, directly or indirectly, to produce such results may be treated as contempt, even though there is no precedent of the offence.⁴

The House of commons, thus, possesses, in the words of Wade and Phillips,⁵ an arbitrary power of committal for contempt which can not be enquired into by courts, provided that the cause of the arrest is not stated. If the reason of summoning the offender is stated therein, he may have, however, judicial protection according to law.

So, our legislatures have the right to decide whether there has been a breach of privilege and in this respect the courts have little jurisdiction whatsoever.

Privileges and Fundamental Rights :

While the constitution gives undefined privileges to the legislatures and their members, it, at the same time, specifically guarantees certain fundamental rights to the ordinary citizens. As a result, there is always a possibility of conflict between parliamentary privileges and the fundamental rights, particularly those embodied in Articles 19(1)(a), 20, 21 and 22.

The most question is in case of a conflict between parliamentary privileges and fundamental rights, which would prevail ? Our judiciary has, in some occasions been asked to settle this problem. In the first of such cases, the U. P. Legislative Assembly found the then editor of the Blitz, How Dinshaw Ministry, guilty of breach of legislative privileges of the speaker or the House. The Editor was arrested by a warrant from the speaker and brought to a Lucknow

Hotel where he was detained till the day of his prosecution inside the House. A Habeas Corpus was moved on behalf of him on the ground that his arrest and detention on the speaker's order infringed upon his fundamental rights as enshrined in Art. 22(2) of the constitution.

The Supreme Court upheld the contention and ordered his immediate release. It was thus settled, in this case, that a fundamental right prevailed over a privilege claimed by a legislature in terms of Art. 19(3).

Eight years latter, however, the Supreme Court in the noted Searchlight case (or Sharma V. Shri Krishna-1959), reversed the position it had taken in the first Blitz case. The Editor of this Patna daily published some portions of the proceedings of the Bihar Legislature Assembly which had declared to be expunged by the speaker and, eventually, former was summoned by the later on the alleged ground of breach of privilege. The Editor, however, challenged the notice and moved the Supreme Court.

By a four-to-one majority, the court held that the Speaker enjoyed the unchallenged authority of expunging any portion of the internal proceedings and hence the petitioner could not seek protection of Articles 19 and 21 against the privilege of the legislature. The Court held further that the principle of harmonious construction must be applied to reconcile different provisions of the constitution. Under this principle, it held, the provision relating to fundamental rights are 'general,' and hence must yield to those regarding the privileges which are 'special'. Speaking on behalf of the majority, Das, C. J. observed that in the absence of a law made by the legislature, the members thereof shall have the privileges and immunities of the House of Commons which should prevail over the fundamental rights.

In his dissent, however, Justice Subba

Rao said that the majority judgment would unduly restrict the scope and content of one of the cherished fundamental rights, namely, freedom of Speech.

In the Second Blitz case (1961) the Supreme Court, reiterating its earlier judgment refused to admit the petition of R. K. Karanjia, the Editor of the magazine, moved under Art. 32 against the warrant of the Lok Sabha Speaker.

Thus, in the two succeeding judgments, the Supreme Court, upheld the privileges over the fundamental rights and this has given rise of a recurring demand for the codification of parliamentary privileges.

Privileges and the Courts :

Experience very pathetically shows that parliamentary privileges may lead to conflicts not only between the legislatures and citizens, but also between the legislatures and the courts. The best known of conflicts of the latter type arose in 1964 between the U. P. Legislature and the judiciary which had to be referred to the Supreme Court for its advisory opinion. A Keshar Singh, who was committed for contempt of the House by the U. P. Assembly moved a petition of habeas corpus under Art. 226 in the state High Court and the two judges, Mr. Beg and Mr. Shegal, issued a notice to the Assembly to show-cause why the petitioner should not be set at liberty. Thereupon the Assembly summoned the learned judges and the defence-advocate and sent the Marshall to being them under arrest. The judges presented a petition before the State High Court under Art. 226 praying for a writ of Mandamus. A full bench of 28 judges of the High Court heard the contention and stayed the operation of the order and issued a show-cause notice upon the Assembly. When the dispute was thus heading to a crisis, the President, under Art. 143, referred the matter to the Supreme Court for its advisory

opinion.

Advisory Opinion :

The court was to express its opinion on the following points :

1. Whether the Lucknow High Court was competent to deal with Mr. Singh's & petition.
2. Whether Keshab Singh and his Counsel had, by presenting the petition, and, the two judges by dealing with it, committed contempt of the Assembly.
3. Whether the Assembly was competent to call on the judges to explain.
4. Whether the High Court was competent to deal with the two judges petition.

After a long and lively arguments of both the sides, the Court delivered its opinion. Gajendragadkar, C. J. in his judgment referred to three provisions of the constitution—(a) Art. 32 guaranteeing the right to move the Supreme Court for the enforcement of fundamental rights; (b) Art. 211 which prohibits the conduct of the judges of the Superior Courts in the legislature; and (c) Art. 226 which lays down that every High Court shall have power throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction to issue to any person or authority including in appropriate cases the government, with the those territories, directions, orders or writs.⁶

The Court then opined that—

1. The Lucknow High Court was competent to deal with the case of Keshab Singh and order his release on bail;
2. Whether Keshav Singh nor his counsel nor the two judges had committed contempt of the Assembly;
3. The Assembly was not empowered to call upon the judges to submit their explanation;
4. The U. P. High Court was competent to deal with the petition of the judges

and issue interim orders.

5. The High Court judge who deals with a petition on an issue involving contempt of legislature, did not commit contempt and the legislature was not competent to take proceedings against the judge who entertained such appeals.

Thus, it is clear that, 'the construction of this provision [Art. 194(3)] must ultimately rest exclusively with the Court which must determine its scope and content. In construing the Article the court must have regard to the other provisions of the constitution bearing on the same subject.⁷

Their utility :

Dr. R. V. Rao pertinently asks—against whom the 'freedom of speech' is given to the legislators? He asserts that in England it meant freedom from the king and his courts and, later, in some constitutions like Weimer, it meant as freedom from party mandates. This means that a member can say anything in the House without fear the Executive, the courts and the party-bosses.

But, Dr. Rao held, actual experience in India as well as outside has shown that an ordinary individual has greater freedom of speech than the legislators due to disciplinary rules of party-system. For instance, Dr. Ambedkar was not allowed to explain the reasons of his resignation in the House.

Similarly, the other freedom, from arrest is of little avail as the immunity is extended to civil cases only and the members can be arrested on Criminal and preventive detention proceedings. This method may even be chosen by an unscrupulous government when the opposition threatens a vote of non-confidence in the midst of some split in the ruling party.

But his most relentless criticism is levelled against the punitive power of the legislature. He, very wisely, remarks that our legislators

functioned well between 1921 and 1947 without this power and there is hardly any reason why the Parliament or our state-legislatures should be invested with such a disastrous power. The learned writer succinctly concludes that this power which was used in England as the instrument of democracy, might prove to be the instrument of dictatorship in India.⁹

This does not, however, mean that the Parliament should not have a reasonable amount of freedom of speech and conducting internal proceedings. The members must be immune from outside criticism so that they can perform their duties without fear or interference. But Parliament should not, at any case, have the power to punish for contempt of itself. When its rights are violated by others, the matter should be adjudicated by others, the matter should be adjudicated by the judiciary.

Vital differences :

Until the legislators determine by law their own privileges, they are to enjoy the immunities available to the commoners. But there are some vital differences in political history and parliamentary status between these two countries.

As our Supreme Court has held, our Parliament is a non-sovereign body and its status is far inferior to that of the British Parliament.¹⁰ Ours is a written constitution which determines and limits the legislative competence of Parliament by enumerated state-list, and judicial review as exercised by the superior Courts. Its enactments, under Art. 13(2) are liable to void in cases of transgression of the Fundamental Rights of the citizens. As pronounced by Kania,¹¹ C. J., our Parliament is 'not a Sovereign body uncontrolled with unlimited powers.'

The evolution of privileges in England had an involved history of bitter and sustained struggle over centuries which has resulted, finally, in the triumph of democracy. These

privileges were first denied, but, with the passage of time, had to be recognised by the sovereign.¹² The Champions of democracy felt the need of such privileges in order to save them from the vindictive outrages of the kings of England in the climax of political crises. But the Indian Legislators have neither the king nor the Lords to fight with and the privileges claimed may be exercised only against the people whom they represent.

The constitution of India, unlike the British system, contains many provisions relating to the powers and privileges of the judicature. They have to be examined and construed harmoniously to arrive at the correct interpretation of the privileges ; and the privileges should not be explained by themselves and in isolation.

The refusal of British Courts to interfere with a general warrant issued by the Speaker against a person for alleged breach of privilege follows from the fact that the House of Commons is regarded as a 'court of record'. But such a notion is conspicuous by its absence in India and so the punitive power of the Indian legislatures is inconsistent with their constitutional status.

Indian Constitution engrafts, in Chapter III, Seven fundamental freedoms and vests in the Superior courts the wide power of enforcing them.¹³ Under Art.13(2), it can even invalidate the laws contravening the Fundamental rights. But the position is entirely different in England. The British people have no such rights. In India, however such rights have become popular and the frequent exercise of writs by the judiciary for their enforcement proves their utility.¹⁴

Other considerations :

M. C. Setalvad¹⁵ raises two important questions—having regard to the emphatic and categorical provision in our constitution that all legislative actions were subject to the overriding effects of the fundamental rights, could

the makers have intended to authorise the legislatures unfettered powers to exercise their privileges at the cost of individual rights? Secondly, he asks, whether notwithstanding the provisions of Arts. 32 and 226, they intended that the authority of the superior courts were to be exercised subject to the parliamentary privilege during the transitory period.' The answers are obviously that the legislatures cannot claim an unfettered privilege even during the transitory period and the exercise of their immunities is subject to fundamental rights of the individual and the authority of the Superior Court.

It may also be pointed out that whatever might be the meaning of the constitutional phraseologies, the intention of the makers is clear. It was impracticable to enact a complete code of privileges as a part of the constitution. So the Constituent Assembly thought that until such time as India acquired sufficient experience of parliamentary institutions and constitutional conventions crystallised into a body of firm precedence, the known privileges of the House of Commons could serve as the bulwark of Indian parliamentary privileges. Thus, it is clear that they offered the legislatures adequate opportunities to perform their duties but not licence to hold both Fundamental Rights and judicial organisations at ransom. In this sense, Subba Rao's careful verdict is unassailable as he pronounced. 'A transitory provision cannot have higher sanctity than a permanent provision.'¹⁶

Supreme Court's advisory opinion in *U. P. Legislature V. Judiciary*, was however, the subject of heated controversy in Parliament. Some members thought that this judgment caused a serious erosion in the privileges of the legislatures. In January 1965, a conference of the Presiding Officers of Legislatures adopted a resolution saying that

Supreme Court's opinion had reduced the legislatures to the Status of inferior courts and that the members would be debarred from discharging their functions fearlessly, honestly and with dignity. But this view missed a fundamental value of the aforesaid judgment that the legislatures, in the lavish exercise of their privileges, could not tyrannise ordinary people, far less the judicial personalities.

So, D. D. Basu¹⁷ hailed the Supreme Court opinion as a precedent of judicial service to protect the rights of the citizen from legislative tyranny.

Setalvad states that a comparative study on the structure and functioning of representative institutions in forty-one countries published by the Inter-Parliamentary Union 1962 shows that several countries have not authorised their Parliament to adjudge breaches of its contempt. In these countries the alleged breach of privilege are referred to the judiciary and yet the legislatures of these countries have not reduced to impotence whatsoever.¹⁸

While some privileges are really important for proper functioning of Parliament, there must be a change of attitude of the members. As Pyle¹⁹ Writes: 'But the manner in which issues on privilege are raised again and again on the floor of the Houses of Parliament and state legislatures gives one the impression that the parliamentarians in India are too sensitive to criticism from outside.' After all, parliaments and their members and committees are neither infallible nor embodiments of all wisdom. Being the representatives of the people they must always be prepared to face public criticism and should never consider themselves to be above such criticism.

Of course, there may be some contempts of the Parliament and tendentious criticisms and personal defamations. But our judiciary attend lots of such proceedings and when

there has been a breach of privilege legislature or that of a member thereof, the case might be lodged in ordinary courts and decided by ordinary penal procedures.

Moreover, judgment is a delicate function which requires some rare elements of human character and personality. Even, as an offender, we may appear before a judicial court on the belief that justice would be accorded to all. But when, judgment is to be delivered by some hundreds people, most of whom lack legal training and political impartiality, judgment is likely to be a mockery.

There might be honest criticism against the Parliamentarians. For one thing, they are popular representatives and elected by people on the basis of some assurances and aspirations and people may remind them and even criticise them when the promises have been forgotten; for another, activities of the members inside the Houses as reported in newspapers sometimes cast doubts in the wisdom of some chosen leaders of the people. So, Writes D. N. Banerjee,²⁰ our legislatures as well as their members and committees should not be over sensitive to an even honest criticism.

Our makers inserted a transitory provision in the hope that the legislators would determine by law their privileges and immunities. But while in three decades they have enacted some lakhs of bills, they have not yet formulated a charter of their privileges because that will be sub-constitutional legislation and would be examined in terms of Art. 13(2) of the constitution. The courts will, in such situation, be entitled to test them on the touchstone of their constitutionality with the provisions of Chapter III of the constitution. This shows that the legislators of India have developed an inflated sense of self-respect and have regarded their privileges as more

important than the fundamental Rights of the people whom they represent.

Recent Amendment :

Art. 105 has, recently, undergone substantial modification through the all-embracing forty-second amendment. Clause (1) and (2) of the said article have, however, left unaffected. But clause (3) has practically been re-written. It now reads: 'In other respects, the powers, privilege and immunities of each House of Parliament, and of the members and the committee of each House shall be such as may from time to time be evolved by such Houses of Parliament.'²¹

The motive behind such amendment is crystal clear. Our Parliamentarians have deliberately used the word 'evolve'. They have intended to place the privileges on a higher pedestal so that they may prevail over the fundamental rights in case of an alleged conflict. In other words, this amendment has sought to take away future legislation on the privileges beyond the perview of the judiciary.²² It has perhaps been contemplated that the privileges, if they 'evolve', would not be 'law' in terms of Art. 13(2) and that they, in such case, will have higher sanctity and legal validity than those of the fundamental rights.

But, D. D. Basu has correctly observed that the end of this amendment cannot legally prevail. In spite of the changed workings of clause (3), the privileges remain within the ambit of judicial authority. This means that the superior courts are entitled to see whether such privileges trample down our guaranteed rights and, if they actually do so, they are void.

Conclusion :

Thus, we believe that parliamentary privileges should be codified as early as possible. But before that, certain facts are to be remem-

here. All the privileges known in England are not consistent with Indian system and, so, they should be chosen with care. Morris-Jones has correctly observed that most of the privileges of England is now regarded as out of date²³

It may further be noted that the privileges, even in England, have a changed impression and sometimes they have been utilised for a purpose different from the original one. As Sir Marriot²⁴ has observed: 'They are now perverted to an entirely different purposes. No longer needed as a defence against the crown, they were utilised as ramparts against the intrusion of the people, at times they were even employed by engines of oligarchical tyranny. So, the Indian privileges should be codified after careful study of their utility in the democratic structure of society.'

Dr. Rao²⁵ observes that two misunderstandings need to be removed.

In the first place, the power to punish is not so wide and so completely free from the courts in England as is commonly supposed. This view is upheld by the observation of Wade and Phillips²⁶ 'The courts while reluctant to enquire into the exercise of the privileges so far as it concerns the internal proceedings of either House or their relations with one another, will not admit of its extension at the expense of the rights of the subject. Secondly, Rao continues, Indian Parliament cannot be free from judicial interference due to procedural and other matters as prescribed in the written constitution.

There is no denying that sometimes the privileges and the Fundamental Rights are at cross-purposes. As A. G. Noorman²⁷ observes: 'In no other respect is the fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression in India as insecure and unprotected as it is in relation to the exercise by the Houses of Parliament and many State legislatures of their parliamentary privileges.' It is an anomaly in

a democratic system that an honest citizen may be tried by his accusers without, sometimes, and judicial redress.

Thus, what is now essential is the codification of privileges whereby the citizen should know the limit of his right of self-expression and can move the court when they are summoned by an organised group of prosecutors-cum-judges of parliament on the alleged ground of breach of privilege.

Subba Rao has opined that if parliament does not enact a law to define parliamentary privileges within a reasonable time, the transitory provision making the privileges of the British House of commons available to Indian Legislatures may be taken to have lapsed. But H. M. Servai, a noted jurist, has regarded such notion as untenable for three reasons. a) the framers must have known that similar transitory provision in Australian constitution have continued for forty-eight years and had not come to an end; (b) Secondly, the first part of Art. 194(4) confers a power, but imposes no duty to exercise it, for, no legislatures can be compelled to enact such law; (c) finally, whenever the constitution makes a 'transitory provision', it sets an express time-limit for its operation.

But, we may point out, first, that S.49 of the Australian constitution Act which is analogous to Art. 194(3) cannot be a plea of retaining Indian privileges in their present state of vagueness. It is interesting to note that H. V. Kamath objected in the constituent Assembly to the reference of British privileges for our legislators.²⁹

But Sir Attadi specifically stressed that the reference of House of Commons was made only as a temporary measure³⁰.

Secondly, the argument that the legislatures cannot be compelled to enact a code of privilege is founded on a two legalistic view. It belies the expectation that the makers had reasonably pinned on the future representatives.

of the people.

Thirdly, there are lots of Articles in our constitutions which are transitory but without any time-limit. In such cases the legislatures have not shown a sense of legislative indifference. The most important of such articles are 59(3), 65(3), 75(6), 97, 125(2), 148(3), 158(3), 164(5), 186 and 221(2).

Thus, it is evident that the legislatures should enact laws to determine their privileges. It has been rightly observed : 'It would be desirable that both Parliament and state Legislatures should define by legislation the precise powers, privileges and immunities which they possess in regard to contempt and the procedure for enforcing them'.³¹

It has, however, been held³² that the constitution has granted certain privileges to the legislators to uphold their dignity. But it must be remembered that our constitution, has also assured the 'dignity of the individual' and the preamble expressly embodiss that intention. The dignity of the legislator can not be, both morally and legally, greater than that of the ordinary individual.

In conclusion it may be asserted that the privileges should not be claimed in absolute terms. The constitution is to be worked in a spirit of concord and harmony.³³ Thus, we believe, urgently needs a clear-cut determination of parliamentary privileges in the context of a broad and harmonious reading of the provisions of the constitution. The best solution to this problem is, therefore, to codify the law and practice relating to Parliamentary privileges. Otherwise, it would be a dangerous trap to the public outside Parliament.³⁴

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THE PEOPLE—THE ONLY KEEPERS OF FREEDOM

NANI A. PALKHIVALA

The largest experiment ever undertaken in human history in the art of democratic living has been carried on in India since 1950. Never before, and nowhere else, has more than one-seventh of the human race lived together in freedom as a single political entity; and it is the biggest electorate in the crowded story of liberty that will be casting its vote in the first week of January 1980.

Professor Rostow of the University of Texas at Austin has expressed his conviction that the most important phenomenon of the

post-war era is the survival of the India democracy. The British historian, E. P. Thompson, has said, "India is not an important but perhaps the most important, country for the future of the world..... If that sub-continent should be rolled up into authoritarianism—if that varied intelligence and creativity should disappear into conformist darkness—then it would be one of the greatest defeats in the human record, sealing the defeat of a penumbra of other Asiatic nations."

But now the future of our democracy has

become, even to the most optimistic mind, a disquieting question mark.

The first and foremost duty of our people is to realize the momentous destiny which we are called upon to fulfil. We constitute almost half of the free world: when human rights were restored by the Janata Government after the end of the Emergency the number of free people in the world doubled. India is the standard-bearer of freedom—it fulfils this role in relation to the Third World as the United States does in relation to the First.

What a sad contrast between India's tremendous potential and the depressing reality between Sri Aurobindo's vision ("Mother India is not a piece of earth; she is a Power, a Godhead") and the cesspool of degradation to which professional politicians have reduced this country.

Two major crises are facing the nation—moral and economic; and the political crisis is the corollary.

The moral crisis is writ large on the entire political scene. In the fifties we had many eminent men in public life who were every inch a gentleman. In the sixties we had many public figures who were every alternate inch a gentleman. Unfortunately, in the seventies we have an unacceptably large number of politicians who are no inch a gentleman. The noble processes of our Constitution have been trivialized by the power-holders, the power-seekers and the power-brokers in our capital cities. Elections have been reduced to a horse-race by the contesting politicians—the difference being that the horse is highly trained.

The Lok Sevak Sangh of Delhi has recently published a report which establishes that in the last 13 years 900 out of 1,000 defectors in the legislatures were motivated by selfish, material considerations; and that 60% of the MPs illegally let out the residential premises which were placed at their disposal at the expense of the nation. Such men are unfit to lead the

nation into anything except hot water. The most incontrovertible fact about our public life is the people's soul-corroding disillusionment with politicians. We realize that they have as much moral backbone as chocolate eclairs. We would as soon expect to find honesty and truthfulness in politicians as silence in a discotheque.

The economic crisis is as mind-boggling as the moral one. After 30 years of freedom we are still among the fifteen poorest countries in the world; and it is a disturbing thought that India is the only democracy among those fifteen poorest countries. Our annual rate of growth in Gross National Product per capita was only 1.2% between 1960 and 1976, and only 0.5% between 1970 and 1976, while the average rate of growth for the countries of Asia was 2.7% during the same period of 16 years. Out of our 5,76,000 villages, 1,03,000 are still without drinking water. The annual rate of inflation is 18%, if the present prices are compared to those which prevailed a year ago; but it would be 36% if you take the rate of monthly inflation since August 1979.

Recently I met the Chairman of one of the biggest corporations in the world who has a dozen brilliant Indian scientists in his employment. He asked me how a nation so extraordinarily skilled and talented as India could manage to remain poor. My answer was, "The credit for this accomplishment goes to our politicians".

It takes a lot of doing to keep this country poor. Unemployment and absence of economic growth with social justice, are ensured by the numberless regulations and restrictions of arbitrary origin and pernicious effect. As for the element of public consent to this endless proliferation of disastrous regulations, the public hardly comprehends what is taking place.

By voting ignorant professional politicians

to power, we have kept a singularly gifted and enterprising nation in the ranks of the poorest on earth. 70% of the Indian people are still illiterate; and if the calibre of our politicians does not improve, India will contain 53% of the world's illiterates by the year 2000 A. D. Many politicians seem to have a vested interest in illiteracy—their survival as public figures depends upon the continuation of the forces of ignorance. It appears cynical but it is true that for portly politicians, goodly in girth, poverty is good business: they talk continuously about 'garibi' without having the will, the expertise or the imagination to eradicate it.

Our nation has paid heavily for its folly in leaving the governance of this country entirely to professional politicians for whom politics is merely bread and butter—a means of livelihood, or worse, a means of personal enrichment. Votes have been, and continue to be, obtained on the basis of such utter falsehoods and bogus promises as would constitute cogent and irrefragable evidence of cheating under the Indian Penal Code.

As we enter the new decade—the eighties—we have to realize the fundamental importance of four things.

First, the time has come when citizens must wrest the initiative from professional politicians and from political parties, and insist upon men of knowledge, vision and character being chosen as candidates for Parliamentary and State elections. It is only such men who can give India the type of government it needs—a government which is strong without being authoritarian, and humane without being weak.

Every democracy must needs have an aristocracy of talent, of knowledge and of character. It is this aristocracy which must take to public life, however distasteful it may be, if democracy is to survive in India. We must go all out to grant the highest recognition

to ability, knowledge and integrity. Ancient India was great because it was as enamoured of learning as modern India is of petty politics.

The tremendous problems facing this country can never be solved by professional politicians, few of whom are equipped for the task. If the corrupt and inefficient administration is to be toned up, it can only be done by ministers with integrity, ability and knowledge who are versed in the art of management. If poverty is to be banished, it can only be done by men of vision and practical understanding of the ways in which the wealth of nations is created. If the under-privileged of this country are to rise above their ageless squalor, it can only be done by experts in finance, production and marketing, and specialists in social engineering and deployment of resources. Our bureaucracy without purposeful leadership at the ministerial level operates only as a guarantee of societal inertia. Singapore is a most striking example of how fast a nation can progress when its cabinet is composed of outstanding talent and probity.

We have hardly an economic problem which would be beyond the capacity of a knowledgeable organizer with an iron will. A technocrat would never try to repeal the laws of economics—the futile exercise to which our Central and State Governments have been addicted so long. He would realize that development begins with people and not with goods. Only men of stature can evoke the response from the people, without which governmental plans turn to ashes.

Secondly, there is a crying need for intelligent and adequate organization of voters to improve the quality of the representatives in the legislatures. There should be a Citizens' Council in every constituency, consisting of impartial non-party individuals who would appraise the candidates and re-commend the right candidates to the voters, and after the

elections ensure that the candidate does not defect or otherwise disgrace himself and his constituents. The voters should unmistakably insist upon the right type of candidates, instead of allowing the political parties to palm off ignoramuses on them. As Will Durant wryly said, we must not enthrone ignorance, only because there is so much of it.

Thirdly, we must shed the divisive tendencies which divide the votes on caste and sub-caste lines, and which are so devastating to our identity as a nation. One Indian is an intelligent human being; two Indians are a political group; three Indians are two political groups.

Fourthly, our people must cast off the shackles of political feudalism. The Indian society is broadly divided into two classes—the rulers and the ruled, with professional politicians jibbing at nothing in their shameless scramble to get admitted into the class of rulers. That ruling class consists of the 5,000 members of Parliament and the State Legislatures. It is pathetic to see the cringing and craven attitude of our people in the presence of ministers and the servile behaviour towards the legislators. When Jayaprakash Narayan talked of total revolution, he meant a total transformation of the spirit, which would enable the people to control the government instead of being dominated and dragooned by the government.

If the voters were assertive and vigilant enough, we would never have had the present situation where we have too many laws and too little justice, where we have a top heavy government which confers tremendous powers on bureaucrats, spreads unprecedented prosperity among lawyers, and perpetuates poverty and privation among the masses.

There is no country in the world where the sales tax administration has become such an engine of oppression as it has in India. There is no progressive country which levies octroi in

the modern age. Octroi is not a tax on the people but a treason against the people: a truck going from Delhi to Calcutta has to be detained at 30 octroi nakas, with the result that the truck takes 71 hours to negotiate the distance instead of 41 hours. Goods moving from one country to another in the European Common Market encounter less time-consuming obstacles than goods moving in the same Indian State, say, from Bombay to Nagpur.

More than two dozen official committees have unanimously reported in favour of abolition of octroi, and yet the levy is continued, presumably because it is beneficial to corrupt officials and dishonest members of local bodies. Our sales tax and octroi levies provide an excellent illustration of the tragedy which befalls a country where the voters are apathetic enough to return avaricious and mindless men to power. There are undoubtedly more convenient ways of raising the same amount of revenue, and then distributing it among the States and the local authorities.

The average age of the members in the last Lok Sabha was 52 years and in the current Rajya Sabha it is 53.5 years, while the life expectancy in our country is only 47 years. By contrast, the average age in the U. S. House of Representatives as well as in the U. S. Senate is significantly lower than in our Parliament, although the average span of life in the United States is 74 years. Our Republic would have a new lease of life when younger people, with well-equipped minds and with the ability to have a bright career outside politics, take to public life as a matter of national service.

"It is a funny thing about life" observed Somerset Maugham, "if you refuse to accept anything but the best, you often get it." This is equally true of democracy. If people refuse to accept any but the best citizens as candidates, we would usher in the golden age of our Republic. Democracy gives, as life

ives, what you ask of it. The following words of Jessie B. Rittenhouse would be wholly apposite if Democracy were substituted for Life :

I bargained with Life for a penny,
 And Life would pay no more,
 However I begged at evening
 When I counted my scanty store ;
 For Life is a just employer,
 He gives you what you ask,
 But once you have set the wages,
 Why, you must bear the task.
 I worked for a menial's hire,
 Only to learn, dismayed,
 That any wage I had asked of Life,
 Life would have paid.

Buddha's last words to his disciples were :
 'Look not for refuge to anyone besides your-

selves". These words come home to us with a strange poignancy at the time of elections when we have the right to select the persons who shall govern the country. When you live in a democracy, you live in hazard. There is no amenable God in it, no particular concern or particular mercy. A bad government is the inevitable consequence of an indifferent electorate. Each citizen must be willing to pay the State not only in taxes but in time and in thought. Politics will never be cleaner, and our economic future will never be brighter, unless and until our citizens are willing to give of themselves to the land which gave them birth. Let us never forget the words of Daniel Webster : "Nothing will ruin the country if the people themselves will undertake its safety ; and nothing can save it if they leave that safety in any hands but their own "

ASTUDY ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FARM WOMEN IN DICITION MAKING IN DHARWAD DISTRICT OF KARNATAKA

Miss CHHAYADEVI BADIGER & Dr. M. SETHVRAO

Now-a-days farmers all over the world are exposed to many innovations in agriculture, and are called upon to take timely and judicious decisions with respect to farm and home affairs. Decision-making of farmers as that

of other individuals is a continuous mental process of reasoning. The process of choice or decision-making involves selection of goals to be obtained and also alternative means to be evaluated for their efficiency in attainment

of the selected goals.

The farm families have to make many decisions on all walks of life. The number and volume of these decisions have tremendously increased with the introduction of many programmes like high yielding variety, family planning, applied nutrition, health and sanitation, adult literacy and many other directed programmes of social change. Keeping in view the vital importance of decision-making the study was designed with the objective of establishing the association of personal characteristics of the farm women with their extent of participation in decision-making in respect of—1) size of the family, 2) family type 3) marital status 4) urban contact 5) contact with extension agency and 6) social participation.

Methodology :

The study was undertaken during 1978-79 in Dharwad District of Karnataka. Mansur, Managundi, Baad and Salikinkoppa are the villages which were selected from Dharwad Taluka of Karnataka State. By means of systematic proportionate random sampling procedure 140 farm women who were decision-makers of the family were selected. The needed information was collected through schedule from the farm women by means of personal interview.

Association was tested between the extent of participation of farm women in decision-making and each of the selected independent variables by means of a two way contingency table, in order to test the significance of the association.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Family size and extent of participation in decision-making :

A close look at the table indicates that there was no association between family size and extent of participation in decision-making

by farm women whether the family size was big or small they participated in decision-making in farm and home aspects to the same extent.

Small family size may take less time to arrive at a final decision compared to bigger families as here consultation takes more time. As Hosur (1977) finds smaller families take more risk than bigger families to arrive at a conclusion. But the contrary finding might be due to the prevailing sentiment attached to by rural women that active participation in decision making is another form of assertion. Hence irrespective of family size the participation was there in decision-making.

Type of family and extent of participation in decision-making :

The finding of the study was in agreement with the research study reported by Sharma and Singh (1970).

The absence of significant association would be attributed to the changing trend that emanates in the present day rural scene. The popular belief that in nuclear families the husband and wife have more of shared decisions than in joint families, where the role of women is not that dominant, is furnished with a contradictory evidence as a result of the study. To be brief, the influence of the family type would not be expressed more evidently on the extent of participation in decision-making by farm women because the contribution of women in casual aspects of the family is being increasingly appreciated and taken into account even in rural areas. This finds reinforcement from certain legislations.

Marital status and extent of participation in decision-making :—

The table focussed a significant difference in the extent of participation of farm women in farm aspects and a non-significant difference

in the extent of participation of home aspects by rural women. These findings could be substantiated by the statement that still the widowed and married women have equisay in all the home aspects.

But in farm affairs the significant association may be due to the fact that widowed

women may be too old to participate in farms and may not be aware of new and changing trends in agriculture. Also they might be psychologically conditioned in a different Association between personal characteristics of the farm women and their extent of participation in decision-making.

Sl. No. Personal characteristics.	Chisquire values.	
	Farm aspects	Home aspects
1) Size of the family	2.37 NS	0.81 NS
2) Family type	1.02 NS	2.27 NS
3) Marital status	5.12*	0.91 NS
4) Urban contacts	0.41 NS	0.34 NS
5) Contact with extension agency	0.03 NS	0.91 NS
6) Social participation	1.91 NS	1.04 NS

*)Significant at 5% level NS-Not significant.

manner. On the other hand for married women social recognition, prestige are important factors. In addition to this wives would have enjoyed greater confidence than the parents for the reason that they are old.

Urban contact and the extent of participation in decision-making :—

With the advent of quicker and cheaper transport facilities, the farm women were placed with an advantage of visiting the nearest town. The main purpose of most of the farm women, visiting city was for marketig. If they themselves come to market it would become easy for them to purchase the things needed for home in a small budget. Hence, most of the women visit at least once a week. As this purpose of visit to a large extent might be irrelevant to the process of decision-making, non significant association could be seen. One more reason might be that in rural traditional society expressing cosmopolitan values may be considerably a social taboo that is particularly among women.

Association between extension contact and extent of participation in decision-making :—

This variable was found to be not significantly associated with the extent of participation in decision-making in farm and home aspects. The farm women did not have a closer contact with extension personnel. The farm women knew only their names, their headquarters and their jobs. Even some of the women were not aware of their names. They felt that it was not necessary to ask all that. Also they might not have attached the importance to members from outside the social system.

This might be the reason for the rural women not to be in touch with the technological innovations and to take advantage of them. Extension personnel also might not have tried to influence them. Above all community norms may be one more reason for increased disparity.

Association between social Participation and extent of participation in decision-making :—

A perusal of the table revealed that there was a non-significant difference. But a contrasting trend has been observed by the study of Sharma and Singh (1970).

Farm women might not have the privilege of intervening in the social causes, prevailing in the community because of social, personal, economic and cultural factors. One can not expect rural women to be as sociated with the social organisations like more members, in Indian village conditions. Because she has to perform all the duties of a wife, a mother and a daughter-in-law and simultaneously shares the burden of field work with her husband. For majority of the rural women being in home may be more prestigious and it has a significant impact on their status of the family. In addition, one more reason might be that social organisations of women were being just for name sake but not very functional. This

might be a reason why there was great gap in the degree of social participation of the two categories.

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HUNGER

—VINCENT SOLOMON.

Near the city's busiest roads,
Where traffic ran all day and night,
A hungry cow with her calf stood—
Tears trickling down her eyes.
The calf was young and milky white,
It was very hungry though.
It sucked and sucked the mother's teats
Blood oozed out, but not milk.
Since two long-long hungry days,
The cow got beatings but not food,
Food is cheap, but life is cheaper.
Again the very thought of food—
A lightening splashes across the mind
And in plenties rains follow.
The skies weep, and we enjoy,
We gain life and they lose it—
Our life is some one's death.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

The Ten Commandments of Buddhism

1. Kill not, but have regard for life.
2. Steal not, and do not rob, but help everybody to be master of the fruits of his labour.
3. Abstain from impurity, and lead a life of chastity,
4. Lie not, but be truthful. Speak the truth with discretion, fearlessly and in a loving heart.
5. Invent not evil reports, and do not repeat them. Carp not, but look for the good sides of your fellow-beings, so that you may with sincerity defend them against their enemies.
6. Swear not, but speak decently and with dignity.
7. Waste not the time with gossip, but speak to the purpose or keep silence.
8. Covet not, nor envy, but rejoice at the fortunes of other people.
9. Cleanse your heart of malice and cherish no hatred, not even against your enemies : but embrace all living beings with kindness.
10. Free your mind of ignorance and be anxious to learn the truth. Lest you fall a prey either to scepticism or to errors. Scepticism will make you indifferent and errors will lead you astray, so that you shall not find the noble path that leads to life eternal.

“Indian Messenger”

ESCAP

Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific published a report on Rural Development Administration in India which

was a document of the United Nations with the collaboration of the government of India. The Introduction is explanatory.

It is quite well known that development plans and programmes designed to assist the rural poor have in practice not always provided the intended benefits to them. Evaluation studies have brought to light instances where the benefits have gone instead to people who were already better off.

At the present moment, therefore, the improvement of the proper implementation and distribution aspects of planned programmes is rightly a matter of concern to policy makers, administrators and the others involved. Indeed it is of the highest importance that the allocations made from scarce resources for assistance programmes for the poor are effectively utilized.

The factors which partly vitiate the distributive effect of development plans are several. Inadequacies in the administrative system are clearly among the major contributing causes of the slow progress or even outright failure of some projects.

Unless steps are taken to strengthen the administrative structure and adapt administrative processes to the challenge which improvement in the conditions of the rural poor presents, our cherished development objectives will remain unattained. This realization has led to the current endeavours to upgrade the level of administration at the field level where it comes in direct contact with the people. Quite obviously, such efforts need to be based on a thorough understanding of the issues involved.

The main aim of the Government of India/ ESCAP Round Table on Adaptation of Administration to Rural Development, held at New Delhi in August 1978, was to arrange a dialogue between policy planners, senior administrators, voluntary workers and academicians on the adaptations needed to make the existing administrative system an effective tool in promoting the rapid development of the masses in the villages who still live below the poverty line. Apart from about a hundred participants from central and state governments, universities and institutions in India, others who took part included ESCAP staff, and experts from the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea and the Philippines.

After the plenary session on the opening day, the Round Table broke up into four groups for detailed discussions on four broad themes: (a) Planning strategies for the alleviation of rural poverty, (b) Improving the administrative capability for rural development, (c) Strengthening institutional arrangements and processes for ensuring provision of production inputs and social services, and (d) Promoting participatory organizations of the rural poor. Thereports which these working groups prepared were finally brought up for discussion in the plenary session on the final day. Also for consideration before the Round Table were papers and studies which had been specially prepared for the occasion.

The participants, representing a wide background, raised some very vital issues and made useful recommendations for action.

The Round Table represents the initial step in a continuing collaboration between the Government of India and ESCAP in a search for appropriate measures to streamline the administrative systems and processes to meet the challenging development tasks which now

lie ahead. We welcome this collaboration in our aim to improve planning and administration in the rural development sector and hope that this joint endeavour will gain further momentum.

This publication has been jointly undertaken by the Government of India and ESCAP. It has attempted to capture and present a consolidated picture of what was written for and spoken on the occasion. It is hoped that the conclusions and recommendations of the Round Table contained in this publication will be of wider interest.

Maheshwar Prasad
Secretary to the
Government of India

The Study of Indian Literature In The Soviet Union—by A. Sukhochev.

Soviet specialists in Indian literature and culture have exerted quite an effort to introduce readers to the works of prominent Indian poets, prose writers, and philosophers. Research into Indian literature has been carried out in the traditional centres of oriental studies, Moscow and Leningrad, and in other Soviet cities: Tashkent, Dushanbe, Tbilisi, Baku, Riga, and Samarkand.

In recent years the USSR started ever more often publishing general research works dealing with the key problems of Indian literary studies. Work on the preparation for the press of series of books on the history of Assamese, Bengali, Marathi, Malayalam Indian Persian-language, Indian English-language, Telugu, Urdu, and Hindi literatures was mainly completed in the sixties. After that specialists in the Indian philology set themselves the task of publishing major academic research works which would take into consideration the achievements of Soviet Indologists and their Indian colleagues.

The USSR has been most successful in research into Indian classical legacy. Soviet

Indologists have followed the long-standing tradition in the study of the most valuable Sanskrit monuments, maintained in India and many other countries. Leningrad researcher Eduard Tyomkin has studied in detail the treatise "Kavya Alankara," by Bhamaha, on the art of literature. Yulia Alikhanova, Moscow University teacher, has published her translation and study of Ananda vardhana's treatise "Dhavyaloka." Research into the great Indian epic poems "Mahabharata" and "Ramayana" have been going on. Worth mentioning, in this connection, are fundamental research by Pavel Grintser published under the title "Ancient Indian Epos : Origin and Typology," and several of his articles. Highly commendable are books by Leningrad researcher Svetlana Neveleva "The Mythology of Indian Epos" and "The Poetics of Ancient Indian Epos : Epithet And Comparison". The books "Outline of Ancient Indian Literature" and "Literary Process In India in the Period of the 7th to the 13th Centuries", by Igor Serebryakov, have drawn the attention of the public. The publication of the book "Essay on Ancient Indian Literature," by Leningrad Indologist V. Erman and works by Vsevolod Sementsov and Yaroslav Vasilkov became true events in the study of Ancient Indian literature. The adapted versions of "Mahabharata", "Ramayana", and some of the legends from Puranas, by Erman, Tyomkin, and Grintser, have been published. Works by Somadeva have been translated and analyzed by Serebryakov. The translation and analysis of selected hymns from "Rigveda" by Yelizarenkova, have been printed, and the translation and analysis of "Bhagavadgeeta", have been completed by Sementsov.

Soviet specialists in Indian literature always try to reveal the humanistic meaning of

the books and to emphasise in them the progressive trends promoting confidence and understanding among nations. By studying Indian literature Soviet scholars help their compatriots to learn more about the cultural wealth of India. They contribute to the rapprochement between the Soviet and the Indian people and to the strengthening of their traditional friendship.

Sentinels of Calcutta

Sabayasachi Mookerjee in the Calcutta Municipal Gazette

The Police Commission of 1860 :

The Court of Directors in their despatch in the Judicial Department No. 41, dated 24th September 1856, expressed their desire for a thorough reform of Indian Police. The Mutiny intervened, and it was not until 1860 that a Police Commission was appointed to undertake the proposed reform. On August 17th, 1860, the Government of India, Home Department (Judicial), issued a resolution appointing a Commission consisting of the following officers :—

(1) Mr. M. H. Court for the North-Western Provinces.

(2) Mr. S. Wauchope for Bengal.

(3) Mr. W. Robinson for Madras.

(4) Mr. R. Temple for the Punjab.

(5) Colonel Phyre for Pegu.

(6) Colonel C. B. Bruce for Oude.

All of them were connected with police and Mr. Wauchope was then the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, and earned name and fame during the Mutiny. The scope of the Commission can be found from the preamble of the resolution :—"The result aimed at by the Commission should be to embody in one view a statement of the numbers and the cost of every body of police, Military and Civil, and under whatever name it may be serving, which is employed within British territory in India

(excepting only the police employed within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Courts,) and which is paid directly or indirectly by the British Government, and which is not under the orders of the Military Officers subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief. The statement should show the character and constitution of each body, how organized, and how armed and equipped, to whom subordinate, and on what duties employed. The statement should also include all civil guards and burkundazes, chaprassis and other orderlies by whatever name designated in different parts of India—who are attached to the courts and treasuries, or to the persons of the district civil authorities, judicial and executive, from the highest to the lowest, or who are employed in the collection of the revenue."

Obviously it was the first All India Police Commission. Though Calcutta Police was not within the scope of its enquiry, yet this Commission left some far-reaching effect on the body of the Calcutta Police. The Commission submitted its report in September 1860. In their report the Commission said that the military arm should be relieved from all non-military duties; and the peace and order of the country should be preserved, on every occasion of tumult and apprehended disturbance by the civil power and not by military force. The civil power would be the police, who would work under the orders of the district, the latter being the Chief Magistrate of the district in whom the police and judicial functions should unite. With regard to the pay of the constables, it laid down that the lowest rank should receive pay equal at least to the average ordinary wages of unskilled labour of the province. This direction continues even to the present day, though the work expected of them is of a nature which should place them above temptation. Each local Government was instructed to prescribe,

suitable and inexpensive uniforms to be furnished to all officers of police below the rank of Inspector at the cost of the State. In the matter of arming the police, the Commission said that the arms should be of the lightest and most handy description, namely, a light smoothbore carbine with a bayonet, and a sword to be used as a side-arm and that the police should be thoroughly trained in the use of their arms but should never carry them except in the performance of any duty in which the carrying of their arms was prescribed. They should carry ordinarily only a baton or truncheon. Among some of the general principles enunciated by them, one was that no separate class of clerks, writers or ministerial officials should be allowed in the police and that all writing and accounting work should be done by the enrolled members of the police. They also laid down,—“That the police should not be used as an agency for the record of any evidence, confession, inquest or the like, but a system of keeping faithful, accurate, and minute diaries should be maintained. These diaries should specify, concisely, but in detail, all duties in which any police officer may have been engaged and every occurrence and their respective ranges. All police officers engaged in specific detective duties should keep an accurate and minute diary of every step taken, and every information obtained in following up the clue of evidence—such diaries should be police documents only, and be sent to the District Superintendent, but should be open to the inspection of the District Officer.

“That the police be strictly forbidden by law, to take cognizance of or interfere with petty offences of any description or otherwise interfere with the liberties or convenience of the people.”

On the basis of these recommendations, Sir Bartle Frere, the Home Member, intro-

duced the Police Bill in the Legislative Council on 29th September, 1860.

Tennyson's Early Poems and Their Hindu Imagery

SATYA S. PACHORI

[Dr. Satya S. Pachori is a welcome new contributor. During his under-graduate and graduate years in Indian universities he was drawn to Tennyson's thoughtful reflection of Indian ideas and images in his early poetry. He continued his studies in Tennyson at the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, where he completed his doctorate in English. In this article he particularly brings out the close parallels between some of Tennyson's early poems and their Indian sources as reflected in the works of Sir William Jones.—ED.]

AUBREY DE VERE, A FRIEND OF TENNYSON, in his comments on the poet's early poetry recalls :

I remember my dear friend, Sara Coleridge, daughter of the poet [Samuel Taylor], once remarking to me that, however inferior the bulk of a young man's poetry may be to that of the poet when mature, it generally possesses some passages with a special freshness of their own, and an inexplicable charm to be found in them alone.¹

Such was the charm in Tennyson's earliest verses in the *Poems by Two Brothers* and other early collections. These poems have yet to captivate the modern critics of the Victorian poets, because the epigraphs, footnotes, and allusions appended to the poems have not been fully elucidated. Some relevant hints have been provided by W. D. Paden,² but a close examination of the poems is long overdue, especially in the context of Tennyson's use of Hindu imagery, which I should like to consider in this article.

The Tennyson brothers—Frederick, Charles

and Alfred—had access at Somersby to the excellent library of their father, the Reverend Dr. Tennyson, who was fond of reading about the exotic and mystical East in the translations of the ancient Indian classics and other works by Sir William Jones.³ Alfred Tennyson's boyhood imagination was captivated by the mythologies of the ancient Hindus and these find adequate expression in "Thou Camest to Thy Bower, My Love," and "Love," poems included in the *Poems by Two Brothers* (1827); in "Fatima," in *The Lady of Shalott and Other Poems* (1832); and in "Perdidi Diem," in the *Unpublished Early Poems* (1931).

"Thou Camest to Thy Bower, My Love" is indebted in its narrative, characterization, and imagery to the *Gita-Govinda* (or "The Song of the Divine Cowherd") by Jayadeva, a Bengali poet. This semi-dramatic pastoral poem⁴ was translated by Sri William Jones in the early months of 1789 in India, and thus heralded a new era in Sanskrit literature for English readers. What fascinated young Tennyson about this poem is the mystical eclogue in which the soft languors of love between the divine Krishna—later the author of the *Bhagavad-Gita*—and Radha, the pious human soul, are depicted in enchanting colours adorned with all the magnificence of language and sentiment. After the lavishly sensuous allegorical courtship, which is omitted in the poem, the enchanted Radha, like Tennyson's heroine, proceeds to the bower of Krishna. In fact, Tennyson's Radha is one of his few female characters who are both desirable and attainable.⁵

The opening lines of the first stanza are obviously in the manner of Eastern poets where expression and sentiments are closely depicted. The lines read :

Thou comest to thy bower, my love, across
the musky grove,

To fan thy blooming charms within the
coolness of the shade :

Thy locks were like a midnight cloud with
silver moon-beams wove,

And o'er thy face the varying tints of
youthful passion play'd.⁶

The "musky grove" characterized by the natural "coolness of the shade" is one of the many groves on the banks of the river Yamuna flowing by the holy cities of Mathura and Vrindavan (near Agra in northern India) where the celestial youthful lovers—Radha and Krishna—used to enjoy their merry-making with other cowherds. In order to appreciate the young Victorian's borrowing from Jayadeva's work (as he himself admits in a footnote, he "elicited" this "simile from the songs of Jayadava, the Horace of India"), we should compare the simile of the locks in the above passage with one describing Krishna: "His locks, interwoven with blossoms, were like a cloud variegated with moon-beams."⁷ There is another description of Krishna which may also have suggested to the young poet the locks simile: "Him, whose locks are decked with the plumes of peacocks resplendent with many coloured moons, and whose mantle gleams like a dark blue cloud illumined with rainbows."⁸

A close examination of the second stanza can further convince us about Tennyson's use of the Hindu images. The breath of the youthful heroine, which, as the poet says, "was like the sandal-wood that casts a rich perfume," is the "breath of love" in Jayadeva which like a fragrant breeze "kindles every heart" and more especially that of her divine lover. The fragrance of sandal-wood has been mentioned several times in the *Gita-Govinda*, which could easily have caught Tennyson's poetic fancy.⁹ Besides, a certain passionate exoticism also is hidden here if Krishna can smell Radha's fragrant breath. Obviously, they are entwined

with each other in the shady bower. Further, the "blue eyes" of the heroine (that "mock'd the lotos in the noon-day of his bloom") point to another borrowing from the Indian poet. Compare Krishna's lamentations for Radha:

I seem to behold her face with eye-brows
contracting themselves through her just
resentment: it resembles a fresh lotos,
over which two black bees are flutter-
ing.¹⁰

And also when both the lovers are finally reunited in the bower:

Thine eyes, which nature formed like blue
water-lilies, are become, through thy
resentment, like petals of the crimson
lotos.¹¹

Krishna out of his deep love for Radha says, "Thine eye outshines the blue lotos." Comparing a pretty eye with a lotus is an old literary tradition in Indian poetry, as the blue lotus is found amply in Kashmir. The cheeks of the heroine are reddening at the reunion with her beloved either out of an ecstatic blush or out of "the sultry gale of her sighs" as she has been suffering at separation from him.

In the last two stanzas of the poem, however, the dominance of the Eastern imagery diminishes except that the young poet finds his heroine "brighter than the sea of gold," a unique Indian flower, and prettier than "the gorgeous Himsagar," a Himalayan watershed in the north of the high peaks. The richness of the Indian similes seems to have dried away, as the heroine in the last stanza is depicted as a Muslim *hauri* with images culled from Sale's *Koran*.

To explain the amorous allegory of the *Gita Govinda* Jones wrote an essay "On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus," in which he discussed the works of Hafiz and Sadi—the Persian poets—Jayadeva, and the *Bhagavad-Gita* and compared them with the

writings of the European mystics Barrow and Necker. The poetry of the Hindus, Jones observes, "consists almost wholly of a mystical religious allegory, though it seems on a transient view to contain only the sentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertinism."¹² Their heroines bear a womanhood which is typically celestial, luminous, trance-dazzled, with no body-consciousness; they are deeply immersed in the divinity of their lovers. In the words of an Indian poet and critic, Puran Singh:

The whole song of the *Gita-Govinda* is pervaded by that supreme creative feeling which divides reality into the two illusive forms of male and female, and makes them dance like two flames of life, till the measure perfection is fulfilled by all forms vanishing again into one.¹³

In the "arguments" to the odes on Hindu deities, "A Hymn to Camdeo," and "Two Hymns to Pracriti"—"Hymn to Durga" and "Hymn to Bhavani"—Jones supplied more detailed information on Hindu mystical devotion, which Tennyson must have read with interest, since in an early poem, "Love," he follows Jones rather closely. In Hindu mythology Kamadeva ("Camdeo" in Jones's spelling) is the god of love, desire, and passion, who with his flower-tipped arrows injects and provokes these feelings in the human heart.¹⁴ The young Victorian did not fail to imitate all the characteristics of this Hindu god from Jones's "A Hymn to Camdeo" in his "Love." An examination of the poem in the context of the Hymn will further show Tennyson's early devotion to the Eastern imagery.

—"The Aryan Path"

1. Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir*, New York, 1899, 1.502.
2. *Tennyson in Egypt*, Lawrence, Kansas, 1942.
3. Other direct or indirect sources of Indian

themes and ideas for the poet were his spiritual mentor, the Rev. Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol and later the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, who provided him a copy of the Vedas, and suggested the mystical themes of "Akbar's Dream" and "The Ancient Sage," and the haunistic theme of "Defence of Lucknow"; Max Mueller, the German Orientalist, whose lectures at the Oriental Congress in September 1892 drew Tennyson's close attention; some Indian landlords like Bechari Lal Zamindar, whose amateurish poems were received by the poet for comments; and the officials of the East India Company in London and in India.

4. Its subject is the estrangement of Radha and Krishna caused by Krishna's love for other cowmaids, Radha's anguish at Krishna's neglect, and lastly the rapture at the final reunion of the two. Jayadeva describes the love-making scenes with glowing sensuality, yet he praises Krishna as God, because the allegorical interpretation in treating Krishna as Supreme Being and Radha as a pious human soul will help explain the mystical idea of Hindu love between the created and the creator.
5. Fatima and Cleopatra are other examples. Actually, Tennyson's Oriental heroines are much less inhibited or passive than his English women characters.
6. *Poems by Two Brothers*, New York, 1893, p. 165.
7. *Works of Sir William Jones*, ed. by Lord Teignmouth, London, 1807, iv. 264.
8. *ibid.*, p. 240. See also p. 254.
9. *Ibid.*, See pages 240, 251, and 255.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 243
11. *Ibid.*, p. 259

12. p. 212.
13. *The Spirit of Oriental Poetry*, Patiala India 1969, p. 166.
14. Kamadeva is the son of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, or the son of Brahma. He is depicted as a handsome youth riding on a cuckoo or a parrot, attended

by celestial nymphs. He is also armed with a bow made of sugar-cane and with a bowstring of bees and carries a quiver of arrows each tipped with a yellow flower. His wife, Rati (meaning sexual desire), is portrayed as carrying a mirror of wantonness.



REVIEW AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Aspects of Wilfred Owen's Poetry by Sasi Bhattachan Das, Roy & Roy Co' 30/15 Selimpur Road, Calcutta (1979 October), pp. 490; Rs: 3/

In this journal we have reviewed Prof. Das's earlier volumes, "Phonetics and Spoken English", Owen's *Strange Meeting*—A critical study, and "I Remember, I Remember". The present is a big volume with about 500 pages and thirteen chapters some of them very longish.

The volume displays fully Mr. Das's profound scholarship which he had already shown in his critical study of Owen's *Strange Meeting*, and which had already been acknowledged by authorities on the war poet at Oxford. The volume deals with most of the essential aspects of Wilfred Owen's Poetry throwing highly illuminating light on many of them. The titles of the chapters are highly suggestive of the themes: *Owen and the German Expressionists*, *Owen, the Apocalyptic*, *Universality in Owen's Poetry*, *Owen's Religion of Humanity* etc. Owen had an innate sense of humour which he displays even in his war poems (e. g. *The Chances*).

The chapter on Owen's creative Process is highly illuminating. In this chapter the author traces the origins of many of Owen's poems in his letters. The theme of this

chapter as also of *Archetypal Patterns in Owen's Poetry* are treated for the first time thereby revealing some virgin fields of research in the war poet's work. Mr. Das's treatment of his subject is always exhaustive as the longish chapters can easily show.

'Passive suffering is not a theme of poetry' was the charge was W. B. Yeats's ground for excluding Owen's poetry from *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse*. Yeats had other charges as well against Owen's poetry. In a longish chapter Mr. Das has very ably refuted all the charges. Lovers of Owen's poetry have every reason to be delighted by Mr. Das's refutation of the charges against him. The author has also assigned new dates to quite a number of Owen's poems and redated some of the accepted dates. The book is enriched with an adequate bibliography, and indices of various kinds. The author has treated many aspects of Owen's poems and investigated many problems thereof with a "thoroughness and devotion" to quote John Bell's and Jon Stallworthy's phrase in regard to his critical study of Owen's *Strange Meeting*. The book shows the author's tremendous scholarship and very hard work over many years and is worthy of a place in all University and public libraries.

Founded by: RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER



1979

Vol. CXXXXIII No. 5

Whole No. 863

NOTES

Gainful Incomes

Incomes which one earns in the normal course of selling investing or making economic ventures are irregular but usually of a type that enables one to record such incomes as irregular but easily scheduled and classified. Doctor's fees, lawyers earnings and many such earnings are thus irregular gains but are easily accounted for in a manner which is recorded in a easily classified manner. There are other earnings which are not so easily scheduled and among them are gains in racing, share markets, sale of valuable books or pictures and such like collector's pieces. These incomes are quite often classifiable as normal incomes when well established collectors and speculators who make such

ventures as their every day ventures are involved. We cannot give an easily verifiable name to such earnings but we have to admit that millions are earned and spent in such accounts in all countries every day. These sums are the normal earnings of many well-known persons and there is nothing shady about them nor are they outside the admitted income earnings of very well meaning persons. When it comes to making declarations for taxation or any such purpose the person or persons becomes cautious and makes only such declaration as can be easily verified. Other funds are declared and admitted after all implications are clearly examined. One thing only is understood in making declarations. It is the implications from the taxation angle. Such matters are kept clearly above any accusations of hiding incomes and no

monies are kept undeclared that could be included in any charges of tax evasion. In any declarations relating to possessions of monies which have been earned or lawfully obtained, people who have such funds take good care to have good reasons for having such funds and the question of white money and black money is exhaustably considered. Thus the people who possess such monies also have clear cut seasons for possessing such monies. Very few people possess wealth which they cannot clearly account for. Such persons can account for all that they possess.

The question of black or white money, also the matter conversion of black money into white have been analytically taken up by money experts during recent years and millions of dollars, pounds, francs, yens and sums and other funds in other currencies have been brought into play for money conversion every year. Monies changed hands and colour and their owners have become wealthier or poorer every year in the money markets.

DECISION MAKING PATTERNS OF FARM WOMEN FOR FARM AND HOME ASPECTS

Miss. CHHAYA DEVI BADIIGER & Dr. M. K. SETHU RAO

Malone and Malone (1958) defined decision-making as a process by which one choice is selected from among those that are available.

Whyte (1951) emphasized the positive role of the wife in decision-making.

Honey *et al* (1959) reported that almost 100 per cent of the husbands and wives considered "Joint" decision-making a desirable practice and 85 per cent were in favour of allowing children to share in decision-making.

Johannis *et al* (1959) concluded that decision-making is a "Joint" affair in today's families as far as them other and father are concerned.

Wilkening and Bharadwaj (1968) mentioned that contributions of "Husband and Wife" to the decisions, have been the subject of much discussion and an increased body of research.

The present study was conducted with the objective of studying the differential patterns of decision-making by farm women with reference to farm and home aspects.

METHODOLOGY

The study was undertaken during 1978-79 in Dharwad District of Karnataka. Mansur, Managundi, Baad and Salakinkopp are the villages which were selected from Dharwad taluka of Karnataka State. By means of systematic proportionate random sampling procedure 140 farm women who were decision makers of the family were selected. The needed information was collected through

schedule from the farm women by means of personal interview.

The major pattern of decision-making identified and utilised in the study were, the 'wife alone'; husband alone' and 'joint' type. These were studied on priority basis in both farm and home affairs.

The item with highest frequency of participation was given first rank and the ones with lesser frequencies were given lower rank. Accordingly in the areas of farm and home in each type of decision-making namely, 'wife alone', 'husband alone' and 'joint' types.

These three possible patterns of rank ordering were subjected to be spearman's rank correlation analysis to test whether there was similarity or not in the extent of participation in decision-making of the three patterns of decisions and the resultant 'rs' were tested for the significance.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The significant value of rs, from Table—1 of rank order correlation analysis for home operations indicate that there was similarity in the decision-making of "wife alone" and "husband alone" as well as 'wife alone' and "Joint" types of decisions, the rs, value being significant at 1 per cent level.

"Wife alone" participated more in the areas of decision-making of health and hygiene practices, religious practices, home improvements and marketing in which husband's independent participation was relatively less.

'Joint' decisions were more in family aspects like 'marriage of children', selection of suitable match, payment of dowry and family planning as these aspects taken up into consideration the interests of all the family members.

One interesting finding from Table—2 was that only the 'wife alone' and 'joint' type of decisions were similar for different farm aspects which was revealed by the significant 'rs' value, at 1 per cent level.

The table—2 gives clear picture that husband's participation was least in the areas in which wife independently participated like 'storage of grain' and care of animals. "Joint" decisions were made in farm aspects like "Fixing the time of agricultural operations", deciding crops, and their varieties to grow. One interesting finding was that for 'deciding crops to grow' ninth rank was given and third rank was given to 'taking loan for farm' by both 'husband alone' and 'wife alone', which indicates their equal participation in decision-making of those aspects.

The reason for the difference in the decisions of 'husband alone' and "joint" types in farm and home aspects might be that even though husbands' independent participation was almost same in farm and home aspects, the extent of his participation was too less compared to joint decisions which were maximum.

But the 'husband alone' and 'wife alone' decisions were similar in home area but differed in farm area. Probably in "Joint" decisions of home area husband may be the main person who was consulted more, but in farm area the decision making of wife was not to that extent of home, even though, she was involved in "joint" decisions. Thus, her participation was more as a joint decision maker in most of the farm and home aspects. Hence, might be the similarity between "wife alone" and "joint" decisions.

An examination of the results indicate that

"joint" decision-making was pronounced with reference to matters affecting family as a whole. Independent decision-making by "wife alone" was with reference to home aspects, where she may have to take care of the consequences of the decisions due to role expectation in the traditional cultural setting in the village. The same thing holds good to explain the independent decision making by farm women with reference to farm aspects. But the interesting part happens to be that farm women are not passive onlookers in the decision-making process in the rural family. This might be an indication of changing trends in rural family norms.

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Table 1 Rank order correlation analysis of decision-making pattern for home aspects.

Sl. No.	Home aspects.	Wife alone	Husband alone	Wife alone	Joint	Husband alone	Joint. N=40
1.	Health and hygiene practices		14	1	15	14	15
2.	Religious practices	2	14	2	14	14	14
3.	Home improvements	3	14	3	11.5	14	11.5
4.	Marketing	4	7.5	4	10.0	7.5	10
5.	Purchasing of home equipments	5	9	5	9	9	9
6.	Expenditure pattern	6	2	6	11.5	2	1.5
7.	Savings for future	7	1	7	13	1	13
8.	Education of children	8	6	8	5.5	6	5.5
9.	Construction of house	9	5	9	7	5	7
10.	Taking and giving loan	10	4	10	8	4	8
11.	Marriage of children	11.5	10.5	11.5	2.5	10.5	2.5
12.	Family planning.	11.5	10.5	11.5	2.5	10.5	2.5
13.	Selection of suitable match	14	12	14	1	12	1
14.	Payment of dowry	14	7.5	14	4	7.5	4
15.	Selection of occupation for children	14	3	14	5.5	3	5.5
		rs=0.6**		rs=1.33**		rs=0.14NS	

**Significant at 1 per cent level of probability
NS Not significant.

Table 2 Rank order correlation analysis of decision making pattern for farm aspects.

N=40

Sl. No.	Farm aspects.	Wife alone	Husband alone	Wife alone	Joint	Husband alone	Joint.
1.	Care of animals.	1.5	13	1.5	12	13	12
2.	Storage of grain	1.5	12	1.5	13	12	13
3.	Taking loan for farm	3	3	3	11	3	1
4.	Selling of the farm produce	4.5	6.5	4.5	9	6.5	9
5.	Spending farm income	4.5	1	4.5	10	1	10
6.	Application of non-family labour	6.5	8	6.5	4	8	4
7.	Buying farm implements.	6.5	4	6.5	7.5	4	7.5
8.	Fixing the time of agricultural operation	9	11	9	1	11	1
9.	Deciding what crops to grow	9	9	9	3	9	3
10.	Investment on farm	9	2	9	7.5	2	7.5
11.	Selection crop varieties	11	10	11	2	10	2
12.	Selection of fertilizers	12.5	6.5	12.5	5	6.5	5
13.	Quantities of types of fertilizers	12.5	5	12.5	6	5	6

rs=0.24 NS rs=0.95** rs=0.24 NS

**Significant at 1 per cent level of probability
NS Not significant.

PANCHAYT SYSTEM AS CATALYST FOR GROWTH

NAVIN CHANDRA JOSI

Embodying the true spirit of decentralised administration, the Government of Nepal runs through a system of panchayats down from the village to the national level. Accordingly, different tiers of panchayats have been functionally created within the framework of Nepal's Constitution. Its preamble declares that the country is firmly convinced of carrying on the functions of the Government through panchayat system. Indeed, the genius and traditional values of the people of the country are abundantly expressed through their active participation that is manifest of the popular will of the people and is quite in keeping with the democratic ideals.

His Late majesty King Mahendra laid the foundation of the concept of administration through panchayats. King Birendra has been pursuing it with great enthusiasm, zeal and sincerity. The Nepalese Government has made a new move to win further support for the country's partyless panchayat system by extending it to municipal level in the country's cities and towns. Late in October 1980 the Government announced that the Village Panchayat Act of 1961 will cover municipal bodies also. Hence, the village panchayats will now have authority equal to that of the district court. They are empowered to hear cases of encroachment on public roads, demarcation of land wages, land rent, forceful occupation of another's property, water cases and other administrative affairs.

The national referendum on May 5, 1980 backed the partyless panchayat system with

55.2 per cent of votes as against the Western model of democracy. It is remarkable that the fundamental tenets of the panchayat system do not allow any room for groupism or mutual bickerings. functionally, it is people-oriented in the day-to-day administration as well as in undertaking developmental activities. The system is designed to achieve egalitarian goals of the country by mobilising all types of resources for progress in all directions. It has now become the major instrument for bringing about regional and balanced economic development of the country.

Today the local panchayats have proved themselves quite capable of fulfilling numerous needs of the daily life of the citizens, besides adding facilities like roads, bridges, culverts, irrigation canals, drinking water, health posts, school buildings, etc., on the basis of local leadership, experience, skill, knowledge and the people's participation. The growth process has engulfed the length and breadth of the country. It may be recalled that Nepal's Fourth Five Year Plan (1970-75) designated four growth centres for the country with a view to accelerate regional development. In view of this, the decentralised manner of growth of the economy has made the role of panchayats at all levels more crucial than ever before.

It is well-known that the physical setting of Nepal, encompassing the plains, hills and mountains clearly makes three broad geographical regions, each with its own distinctive environment. The Terai region is the lowlying

tropical plains along the southern part of the country. The hills traverse the sub-tropical belt and the mountains include the temperate highlands and trans-Himalayan valleys. The hills and mountain regions are comparatively much less economically viable than the Terai area. The Fourth Plan therefore carved a series of north-south growth axes in the form of development corridors linking the diverse regions. The consequent just a position of a wide range of resources of the three broad regions permits economic viability and a greater inter-regional circulation of goods, services and the people. These growth axes are (i) Kosi—from Biratnagar to Hedangma, (ii) Karnali—from Nepalganj to Jumla, (iii) Gandaki—from Bhairawa to Jomsom, and (iv) Kathmandu—from Birganj to Dhunche. A kind of complementarity of the northern and southern parts of the growth axes in terms of organic circulation in trade, labour and capital is sought to be fully achieved.

For carrying through the development plans, the central government provides grants in order to involve the various district and village panchayats in economic activities along with their own local efforts. The extent of grant is up to 75 per cent of the total investment of a project in A grade districts (mountainous region), upto 50 per cent in B grade districts (Hilly region), and upto 30 per cent in the Terai region and Kathmandu valley. This differentiation in the quantum of development grant is prompted by the anxiety of the government to give more help for developing backward regions. For this purpose, a Remote Area Development Committee has also been formed to give greater attention to the hitherto neglected areas. For proper implementation of various projects, volunteers are imparted training and then detailed to different regions.

Under the current Sixth Five Year Plan, the panchayats will generally decide on projects

to be undertaken by the village and districts panchayats as per their requirements. By and large, the following types of projects will be undertaken :—

(a) Projects that increase production, solve the unemployment and underemployment problems viz. small irrigation schemes like dams, canals, field channels, wells and tubewells, ponds, use of compost, control of soil erosion, plantations, cottage industries based on local raw materials etc.

(b) Projects that fulfil the basic minimum needs of the local people, e.g., drinking water, suspension bridge, culvert, foot-track, mule-track, etc.

(c) Projects that improve the health of the local people like toilet, sewage, drainage, health posts, etc.

(d) Educational projects like primary school building, library, adult school building, etc.

(e) Projects like co-operative societies, co-operative store, panchayat house, kanji house, etc.

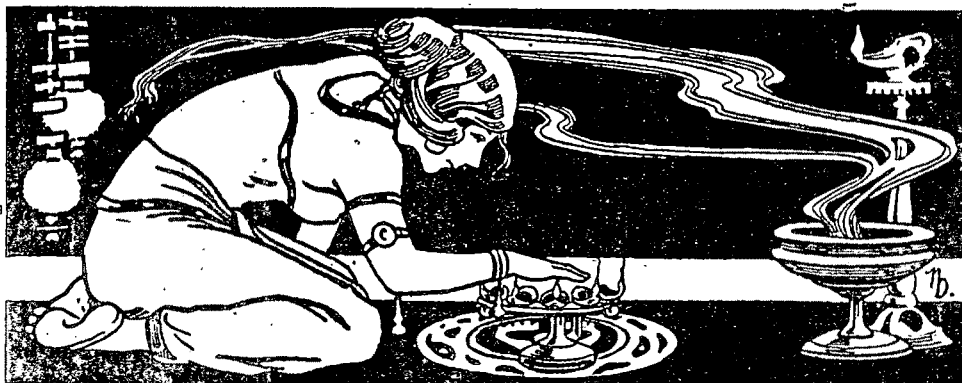
Allocation of resources for the Panchayat sector during the Sixth Plan has been decided on the basis of the district population, the extent of unemployment or underemployment and the magnitude of population living below the poverty line. One major objective of the panchayat development works is to raise the income level of the people through providing employment opportunities. In co-ordination with the 'Back-to-village' campaign, the various districts arrange Pancha Rallies for formulating village level Projects. The Home and Panchayat Affairs Ministry of the Government compile the district plans and they are then forwarded to the National Planning Commission which incorporates them in the national plan.

At present the most pressing problem of panchayats is inadequate amount of financial

resource position. - In order to tide over the difficulty, in this respect, the Government introduced a panchayat development and land tax through an enactment. The local panchayats levy the tax as a percentage of annual production of the land. The rate of tax is 6 per cent for the landholder who is tilling his own land. In other cases, if the share of the landlord is more than 50 per cent of the annual produce received as fixed rent from tenants, then the tax is 16 per cent of the landlord's share. If such share of landlord is less than 50 per cent, then the tax is 15 per cent. In each of these cases, the tenant will bear 3 per cent and 5 per cent respectively of his own share of produce. However, this levy is not sufficient by itself to make them financially self-sufficient. It is found that the non-developmental expenditure of panchayats constitutes about 50 per cent of their total expenditure. This is much on the higher side compared with their own resources. Therefore the position of panchayat finances calls for an all-out economy. Restraint on expen-

diture of non-developmental nature is all the more necessary in view of the fact that any further scope for augmenting resources through taxes and levies just does not exist. And it will still take some years before the benefits of planned economic development are percolated throughout the various sections of the community in a meaningful manner.

In sum, Nepal's panchayat organisations can become economically viable units only by undertaking more and more economic activities. This will also help in enhancing people's income through more production and more meaningful employment. With proper guidance and more enthusiasm of the people forthcoming, the institution of panchayats will undoubtedly create a social order free from economic exploitation of individuals or sections of people. In this context, the Government's stress on evaluation of the contribution of all political workers in respect of their individual performance and their attitude towards the system, should be only too encouraging for the masses.



ADVENT OF NATIONALISM: AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY

Prf. SIDDHARTHA MITRA

The birth-pangs of nationalism were experienced in Europe in the early phase of the modern period of her history. Neither in the ancient period nor in the mediaeval period of her history was there any such thing as the Nation State. The structure of the modern state was built upon the two pillars of nationalism and sovereignty, both of which were brought to the forefront in the struggle between the territorial kings and the Pope who wanted to dominate over the kings. The kings, however, mobilised in their support and favour the nationalist or patriotic sentiments of the people. Thus nationalism was awakened. Moreover, the kings claimed sovereignty or supreme power within the confines of their kingdoms. Nationalism linked up with sovereignty created the modern nation State.

Rightly has C. Delisle Burns remarked. "The local independence of the sovereign State was at last connected with the right of the inhabitants to choose their own forms of Government and the result has been the conception that every group of sufficient permanence and with enough of a distinct tradition to have a national character should have an opportunity for developing its own forms of law and Government."¹

But to appreciate the character and implications of nationalism we have to go into some historical details. In the heyday of medievalism, nationalism was unknown as we have already pointed out. There was the Holy Roman Empire presided over by an Emperor; there was also the far-flung organisation of the church over which the Pope presided. There

was further a connecting link between the two, inasmuch as the Emperor was supposed to receive the blessings of the Pope. This made his Empire Holy. In 800 A. D. Charlemagne, who ruled over an extensive empire, ushered in a new tradition by seeking the formal benediction of the Pope which was readily granted. About two centuries later Otto the Great made his rulership Holy by securing Papal sanction. Thus, the Pope's position was unique. He ruled over the church and at the same time he exercised influence on the emperor by crowning him.

But this crowning by the Pope was rather an act of formality than an act of substantial significance. The fact was that the church and the Empire were co-existent, but they were virtually independent of each other. In this context the following description by a distinguished historian makes the whole picture clear beyond a shadow of doubt: "For many centuries the idea had been prevalent in Europe that Christendom was a political as well as a cultural society and that its government should ultimately be directed by two great co-extensive institutions, independent of each other, but working in close alliance and alike commanding the allegiance of all Christians. One of these institutions was the Church and the other was the Empire. The Church was the supreme spiritual power; the Empire, the supreme temporal power. In theory at least Europeans owed obedience to both."²

So long as the Imperial tradition and the Papal pretensions persisted, nationalism could not flourish. Another stumbling block that stood in its way was the relics of feudalism that

made kings helplessly dependent on Barons and Knights who owned lands and commanded military service. If they withheld military assistance the kings were helpless.

It so happened that a somewhat eccentric but nonetheless a clear and forceful thinker and writer Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) appeared on the political scene in Europe and in his remarkable publication "The Prince" (1513) resolutely upheld the cause of the independent monarch who was also to exercise absolute power. The following description by W. A. Dunning is noteworthy: "The great Secular States of Europe exhibited the full establishment of absolute monarchy. Henry VII in England, Louis XI, Charles VIII and Louis XII in France, and Ferdinand in Spain had relegated the feudal assemblies of their respective dominions to a position of obscurity and impotence. Even Maximilian of Germany endeavoured in his feeble way to impress himself upon the administration of his disjointed realm. The era was that of the strongman, in both secular and ecclesiastical politics and Machiavelli's writings gave copious evidence that he realised this fact.

"But he (Machiavelli) was conscious also of the fact that the tendency of the times was toward the expression of nationality as well as of monarch in political organisation. The distinctions between English, French, German, Italians and Spanish had now become a common place of political observation and entered extensively into the policy of statesmen. As against this fact the ancient notion of an empire co-extensive with Christian Europe lost all its significance. Not even the peril of a Mohammedan conquest and the exhortations to a crusade against the Turks could reawaken the notion that the emperor was the secular head of Christendom. The national monarchy was the political type which alone inspired interest and respect."³

One may note that England was the first country to develop nationalism, but its attempt to acquire a hold on France roused a passionate spirit of nationalism in that country also. Early in the 15th century Joan of Arc inspired the French people with strong nationalism against the aggressive Anglo-Saxons. Nationalistic sentiments also become manifest in Spain, Portugal, Denmark and Sweden.

The subsequent history of nationalism in Europe was a chequered one. In 1772 Poland was not only partitioned among the rulers of Austria, Prussia and Russia. The basic cause of this diabolical act was that Poland had an elective monarchy and as such she could not be drawn into dynastic alliances and counter alliances (through marriages between members of Royal families) which were a regular feature of European political manoeuvrings before and during the 18th century.

Lord Acton had occasion to remark: "A monarchy without royal blood, a crown bestowed by the nation were an anomaly and an outrage in that age of dynastic absolutism. The country was excluded from the European system by the nature of its institutions. It gave the reigning families of Europe no hope of permanently strengthening themselves by inter marriage with its ruling, or of obtaining it by bequest or by inheritance."⁴ He further observed that this most "revolutionary act awakened the theory of nationality in Europe." Poland ceased to be a State, but it remained a nation, a disgruntled and desperate nation ready to seize any opportunity to recover its lost nationhood.

Then came the French Revolution (1789) with its Declaration of the Rights of Man. The right of self-determination of people was not specifically mentioned in it, but it may be claimed that it was implicit in it. ".....it may be argued that the rights of man include the

right of self-determination of peoples and it follows as a natural corollary that the affirmation of the former carried with it the latter."⁵ Later, however, Napoleon seized power and rose step by step to the position of an emperor ruling over a far-flung dominion. He rode roughshod over nationalist sentiments and crushed many nations under the heels of Imperialist France. But the rising tide of nationalism eventually overwhelmed Napoleon and brought him to his knees. Unfortunately, the Vienna Congress which was summoned after the defeat of Napoleon did not pay much heed to the principle of nationality. In 1848 Europe was shaken by revolutions which heralded the birth of a new era. According to C. D. Burns, nationalism "became a definite ideal in about 1848."⁶ Sometime after, it manifested itself in full vigour in the unifications of Germany and Italy.

In 1861 there was published John Stuart Mill's book on Representative Government which contained an admirable chapter on nationalism. It was a striking expression of the principle of nationality.⁷

John Stuart Mill was the first political philosopher to set forth in clear and unambiguous terms the case for nationalism of the beneficent type. The following statement by Mill has a refreshing modern flavour about it: "A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a Nationality, if they are united among themselves by common sympathies, which do not exist between them and any others—which make them cooperate with each other more willingly than with other people, desired to be under the same government, and desired that it should be governed by themselves or a portion of themselves, exclusively. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by various causes. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent.

Community of language and community of religion, greatly contribute to it. Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents; the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections, collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret connected with the same incidents in the past. None of these circumstances, however, are either indispensable or necessarily sufficient by themselves. Switzerland has a strong sentiment of nationality though the cantons are of different races, different languages, and different religions."⁸ Mill linked up nationality with democracy and thereby made the case for it very effective and almost irresistible. Mill said: "Where the sentiment of nationality exists in any form, there is a *prima facie* case for uniting all the members of the nationality under the same government; and a government to themselves apart. This is merely saying that the question of government ought to be decided by the governed."⁹

(The sentence has been underlined by ourselves). Thus the democratic arguments are skilfully introduced in the discussion of nationality. The case for nationalism is strengthened, fortified and reinforced by the unchallengeable democratic arguments. The point is further sought to be driven home by the following statement:

"Free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities." Mill's conclusion is "..... it is in general a necessary condition of free institutions, that the boundaries of governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities."¹⁰ The qualifying phrase 'in general' in this quotation is noteworthy. In other words, Mill admitted that there might be some exceptions to his general proposition, but these were exceptions that proved the rule. Altogether the case for

"one nation one State" was overwhelmingly strong.

Mill was principally a champion of defensive and constructive nationalism. Unfortunately, however, he lent some support, perhaps without realising it, to aggressive nationalism in his discussion of "Government of Dependencies". He thought of the dependent countries of Britain and divided them into two categories as follows :

"Some are composed of people of similar civilisation to the ruling country ; capable of and ripe for, representative government : Such as the British possessions in America and Australia." Others, like India, are at a great distance from that State".¹¹

Mill was prepared to concede self-government to the former, but not to the latter. The latter "must be governed by the dominant country, or by persons delegated for that purpose by it. This mode of government is as legitimate as any other, if it is the one which in the existing State of civilisation of the subjects people, most facilitates their transition to a higher stage of improvement."¹² India was considered by Mill to be a typical country requiring governance by a country of superior civilisation like Britain. This attitude later gave birth to the notorious slogan of "White-man's burden"—the slogan that reverberated throughout Europe in the second half of the 19th Century. Mill did not stop for a moment to consider on what ground India was to be considered lacking in civilisation. In what sense was Britain superior? That India had in the past a splendid civilisation at a time when England was steeped in darkness—this fact was evidently unknown to Mill, but modern historians have proved that conclusively.

Be that as it may, Mill was, without perhaps knowing it, the Godfather of the aggressive nationalism of the European countries,¹³ which sometimes manifested it-

self in the rapacious creed of 'trade follows the Flag', and manifested also sometimes in diabolical imperialism. As a result many distinguished thinkers have become very critical of and hostile to the very notion of nationalism.

The outbreak of the First World War (1914-1918) shook Europe to its foundations. This is not the place for a detailed analysis of the many causes that brought about the almost worldwide conflagration known as World War I, but it may succinctly be stated that a major factor that caused the catastrophe was the dominance of Anglo-French imperialism which roused the ire of the militarist State of Germany. The latter had also sought to develop imperialism, but its success in so doing was limited. It decided therefore to strike a major blow at Britain and France hoping thereby to bring them to their knees. It succeeded in its effort in an appreciable measure, but the American intervention in support of England and France altered the whole picture. Germany and her allies were eventually defeated.

The philosopher-statesman Mr. Woodrow Wilson who was at that time the President of America electrified the world by his ideological and idealistic utterances. The world must be made safe for democracy, the right of self-determination must be conceded to every nationality—these two were highlighted in his programme for the remaking of the world. President Wilson declared that 'all well-defined national aspirations should be accorded the utmost possible satisfaction'.¹⁴ Wilson used flamboyant language in proclaiming the right of self-determination of every nationality. He said : "Self-determination is not a mere phrase ; it is an imperative principle of action which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."¹⁵ The Peace Treaties that were concluded afterwards gave, however, only a limited recognition to the principle of

nationality. Poland, which was wiped out by partition in 1772, was once again put on the back of Europe as an independent State with boundaries corresponding in the main to her ethnic boundaries. Czeches and Slovaks were freed from the yoke of Austria and given a distinct place as the independent State of Czechoslovakia. The Slavs of Southern Europe were likewise liberated from the rulership of Austro-Hungarian Empire and United in the newly created State of Yugoslavia. The Fins, Esthonians and Lithuanians were declared independent of Russia and were organised in separate States. But the new creation of States on nationalistic lines came up against serious difficulties. The political rearrangements and readjustments that were made did not pay proper and adequate respect to the principle of nationality. In fact, it was almost impossible to do so. The following is an accurate description of the conundrum that confronted the Peace Makers". In drawing the boundary lines of the new States, the Peace Conference found it impossible to draw them in such a way as to include in each State only those of the same nationality, because of the hopeless intermixture in some cases of the peoples of different nationalities in the same territories. There were also economic, political, and strategic factors which sometimes made respect for the principle of nationality difficult or impossible. In these circumstances the Victors did what had often been done before—they favoured themselves and their proteges."16

In the inter-war period nationalism manifested itself in a new garb—in the garb of totalitarian nationalism. In this connection the following description will be found to be apt and illuminating : "Totalitarian nationalism exhibited itself in extreme form in Nazi Germany from 1933 to 1935 under the Nazis the rights of man were surrendered to the rights of the State. Humanitarianism was

replaced 'by etatism'. The State became the supreme end in itself. The individual possessed no inherent value, he existed only to serve and to glorify the State. He was declared to derive his existence from and his welfare from the State and his highest duty was therefore to obey its dictates unhesitatingly".17

Hitler made extravagant claims on behalf of the nation State. To him the individual was nothing, the State was all important. He said : "To the Christian doctrine of the infinite significance of the individual human soul and of personal responsibility. I oppose with ici clarity the saving doctrine of the nothingness and insignificance of the individual human being and of his continued existence in the visible immortality of the nation".18 The individual was undervalued and indeed was run down also in Hitler's autobiography *Mein Kampf*. In it he wrote, 'The dogmas according to which the individual personality has a right to its liberty and its dignity can bring nothing but destruction'. The State was to reign supreme, but the State was to be controlled by the party. "There will be no licence, no free space, in which the individual belongs to himself.... the decisive factor is that the State, through the party is supreme over them whether they are owners or workers. Why need we trouble to socialise banks and factories. We socialise human beings".19 Commenting on this Dr. S. Radhakrishnan rightly observes : "The human individual is emptied of his own history, of his destiny, of his inward past. He is regarded as an aimless, drifting, credulous creature who, without a mind and will of his own, is driven like cattle or moulded like wax, by those who have elected themselves to be his rulers".20

The essential character of totalitarianism has been brought out by Sir Ernest Barker as follows : "Each giving himself to the whole gives himself to no person. He gives himself to something which at once includes him and

stands above him...Immersed in its totality, he finds in its existence the reason for his own. He is content to be merged because he finds himself not only sustained, but also explained, by the body in which he is merged".²¹

The above statement is a pointer to the tendency of the individual to lose himself in totalitarian nationalism. Such nationalism was also marked by the 'eruption of the personal', an individual leader somehow reaching the top was identified with the highest national ideal, evoking the greatest respect. Hitler was such a leader in Nazi Germany. The following interesting incident throws light on this aspect of the matter :

"A young German pilot, whose plane had been brought down by anti-aircraft fire was taken into a French home, turned into a hospital. He was mortally wounded. The doctor bent over him and said, 'you are a Soldier and you can face death bravely. You have only an hour to live. Would you like to dictate a letter for your family?' The boy shook his head. Pointing to women and children grievously wounded, the doctor said : 'Now that you are about to face your God, you surely wish to express your sorrow for what you have done, now that you see the results of your work'. The dying pilot replied: 'No, I only regret that I cannot continue to carry out the orders of my Fuhrer. Heil Hitler!'"²²

Patriotic fervour thus became like the strongest religious emotion and it was typified in a strange loyalty to the national leader.

An even more surprising phenomenon was the evolution of communism from the international cult that Karl Marx prescribed for it into a thoroughgoing nationalist cult. How gradually the change came about becomes manifest from the following somewhat lengthy description : "When the Bolsheviks emerged victorious from the turmoil of the Russian

Revolution their leaders were fired with zeal for a cosmopolitan communism. They set as one of their goals an international uprising in which the workers of the world would unite in overthrowing bourgeois capitalism for the establishment of a universal polity based on the dictatorship of the proletariat".²³ Lenin consistently stuck to the goal to encourage the world revolution which communists believed imminent. The picture, however, changed after Stalin's advent to power. During the period of Stalin's rule, government policy towards nationalism in the Soviet Union underwent considerable modification. Marxist-Leninist internationalism was subordinated to thoroughgoing Soviet Socialist nationalism. It was at the sometime totalitarian nationalism. The individual was submerged under the growing tide of the nationalist fervour. The matter was pushed further in 1937. "In 1937 the Kremlin announced that the word *Fatherland* should be regarded as a fundamental political concept, and that unlimited faithfulness to the mother country was in order".²⁴ The religious sentiment was revived and identified with nationalism. These became more evident after the outbreak of the Second World War. "When Russia joined the...War, the crowded Moscow congregations were mentioned with pride, as praying for the success of the Russian arms and impugning Hitler as the most deadly enemy of religion. The struggle was now officially described as the war for the Holy Soviet Fatherland and for the liberation of peoples".²⁵

Nationalism was not confined to Europe. From 1776 onwards it made a triumphal march from success to success in America. American nationalism has also been a negation of racial unity and common political antecedents as the pre-conditions of nationality. "One of the marvels in the history of the

United States has been the ability to absorb millions of immigrants from many lands and mold their children and grand children to a new design out of the melting pot has flowed the material of an American nationalism."26

In the period after the Second World War nationalism has achieved fresh laurels in the no countries of Asia and Africa. This has been nationalism of the beneficent or constructive type. Imperialism and colonialism have received the death blow. If they have not been completely wiped out their hold has been eliminated almost to the point of extinction.

But is nationalism defensible in the present international situation? This question mark pointed towards modern nationalism is gradually arresting more and more attention of right thinking people. Leslie Lipson makes an appropriate remark in a forceful manner: "The nation State emerged at a time when it was more capable than the mediæval system of supplying humanity with security and well-being. But this unit of government, like the rest, has failed to apply its own ideal, with the result that it is now decaying or even dying. Our contemporary world is in the throes of transition from the outmoded nation State to some new unit".27

The world-situation now presents before us a bewildering variety of States. There are States which are politically independent, but economically very much dependent on other States. In this connection we have to take into consideration very many newly formed States of Asia and Africa, and perhaps also of Latin America. They are in different stages of economic development. Politically and militarily they present many perplexities and problems.

We may talk of an international order consisting of all States, but can such an order be evolved out of the discordant elements that confront us in the world context? once again

we quote from Leslie Lipson to understand the complex nature of the problem that confronts us. "It is a truly formidable task, therefore, to construct an international order out of such discordant elements. The mansion of peace and prosperity has to be built with bricks of different materials and various sizes and shapes. The edifice must include States that once were leading powers and continue to be important but have suffered a relative loss of strength, like Britain and France; States that today stand in the front rank, like the United States and the Soviet Union; States that are the homes of proud and ancient civilisation and will once again be mighty when their potentialities are unleashed, like India and China; States that give few thanks to the past but consider themselves, as does Brazil, lands of the future; States that have made their bid for hegemony and failed, like Germany and Japan etc".28

Against difficulties of creating a world order, comprehensive in scope and effective in organisation, we have to consider the imperative necessity of a well organised world order, the lack of which threatens the survival of humanity and the continuance of world civilisation. We must evolve an unit of government as wide as the world itself and make a success of it. We cannot by pass this supreme requirement of the modern age.

The distinguished political philosopher Prof. Harold J. Laski has emphatically and energetically advocated a world organisation as a panacea for the ills that afflict modern nation States. He is no believer in State-determined and State-directed nationalism. Some of his pungent and pointed remarks are worthy of citations in this context. Laski is a sharp and clear headed thinker and his thoughtful remarks need quotation at some length: "Broadly speaking in fact, the idea of nationality is, as Renan insisted in a famous essay, essentially spiritual in character, it

implies the sense of a special unity which marks off those who share in it from the rest of mankind".²⁹ It has an inherent tendency to become aggressive. "As power extends, nationalism becomes transformed into imperialism".³⁰ Therefore it requires to be checkmated. Otherwise, conflicting imperialism will disrupt the world. Laski strongly urges opposition to nationalism which tends to become imperialism, and he presents cogent arguments in favour of his view. He says: "I am arguing that since my neighbour is the whole world I must so conceive my interest that it implies the interests of those with whom I have to live. It is the old truth that no man can live to himself yet in the terms enforced by scientific discovery. It means that however we may recognise those spiritual systems we call nations, there is a 'togetherness' in their functioning which involve the building of institutions of 'togetherness'. Those institutions can be built only upon the basis of joint decisions upon matters of common interest".³¹

We have witnessed two great institutions saddled with responsibility for taking international decisions in regard to matters of world wide interest and importance—one was the League of Nations which was born in the midst of high hopes but which suffered shipwreck on the rock of over assertive nationalism; the other is the United Nations which, since the termination of the Second World War, has been engaged in tackling varied world problems. Will this latest experiment really succeed? It has faced serious crises and yet has survived. Nevertheless its future is uncertain.

Aggressive nationalism still prevails and threatens world peace. It must be ruthlessly checked and curbed.

But constructive nationalism need not be opposed. Such nationalism does not come

into conflict with internationalism. A tree must be firmly rooted in its soil to wear a perfect crown of blossoms—as a writer has pointed out somewhere. Each nation should develop its distinctive tradition and culture to contribute its quota to the richness and variety of world civilisation.

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1. C. D. Burns, *Political Ideals* (1965), p. 134.
 2. Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Modern Europe to 1870*. (1960) p. 3.
 3. W. A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theories—Ancient & Mediaeval* (Indian Edition 1966) p. 286.
 4. Lord Acton, *History of Freedom & other Essays*, p. 275.
 5. Garner, *Political Science & Government*, p. 116.
 6. C. D. Burns, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
 7. Text book writers make subtle distinctions between nation, nationality and nationalism. We need not enter into an elaborate discussion of the same. A people having a common historical background and a 'corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy and dignity related to a particular intensity, intimacy homeland' constitute a nation or nationality. Nationality may also be said to stand for the spiritual principles of unity which may inspire a people. The principle of nationality in action, a people actuated by a sense of unity and claiming and struggling for a state of its own, may be called nationalism. Subtle distinctions between nation, nationality and nationalism need not be pushed too far. A spiritual and special sense of unity is implicit in all these terms. Elements of community should not be made much of in discussing them. Switzerland furnishes a fine example of triumphant nationalism.

despite racial and linguistic differences. Racial homogeneity is a myth ; a common language is unnecessary. The spiritual sense of unity is the basic factor. A distinction should however be made in a clearcut fashion between beneficent or constructive nationalism and aggressive or destructive nationalism. This will be further clarified in the above discussion.

8. See John Stuart Mill's book entitled "On liberty. Representative Government, The Subjection of Women". (Oxford University Press 1963), p. 380.
9. Ibid, p. 381.
10. Ibid, p. 384.
11. Ibid, p. 402.
12. Ibid, p. 408.
13. To the credit of Mill, however, it should be noted that some refreshing remarks flowed from his pen which showed that he was not quite unaware of the dangers of naked imperialism. He said : "The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality ; but such a thing as govt. of one people by another, does not and cannot exist". (Ibid, p. 411) Nevertheless, Mill justified British domination over India.
14. Quoted by J. W. Garner in his book 'Political Science and Government' (Indian edition 1951) p. 119.
15. Ibid. p. 123.
16. Ibid, p. 120.
17. Norman J. Padelford and George A. Lincoln, International Politics (1954) p. 171.
18. Hermann Rauschning, Hitler speaks (1939) pp. 222-223.
19. Rauschning, Voice of Destruction.
20. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Religion & Society (1966).
21. Sir Ernest Barker, Reflections on Government (1960) p. 149.
22. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit., p. 15.
23. Padelford and Lincoln, op. cit, p. 174.
24. Ibid.
25. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit, p. 15.
26. Leslie Lipson, Great Issues of Politics (1967 paper back edition) p. 354.
27. Ibid, p. 344.
28. Ibid, p. 365.
29. Harold J. Laski, Grammar of Politics (1950) p. 219.
30. Ibid, p. 223.
31. Ibid, p. 226.



BUDDHA'S EKAYANA

BUDDHADASA KIRTHISINGHE

We are all following the word of the Buddha. After Emperor Asoka's demise in the Third Century B. C., The Buddha Dharma or his teachings began to be variously interpreted by the intellectuals among the monks. Asoka's own son and daughter took the message of the Buddha to Ceylon (Sri Lanka), which is now called the Theravadin School or the School of the Elders because they object to the word Hinayana which designates the Buddhism of the South, that is of South and South-East Asia. From Sri Lanka it spread to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Indonesia, and then again from Burma and Thailand back to Sri Lanka.

An important school of Mahayana, called Mahayamika, was founded by Nagarjuna 150 years after Christ. Four hundred years after Christ another school called Yogacara was formed by Vasubandhu and Asanga. At the famous Taxila Buddhist University in Gandhara in Northern India further modifications occurred, blending this Mahayanist thought with that of Greeks and Kusans. Mahayana Buddhism, then, travelled to Bamiyan in ancient Buddhist Afghanistan, which was situated on the silk routes from China. In China, it felt the impact of Confucian and Taoist doctrines and was modified to suit the life and thought of the great Chinese people. From there it travelled to Korea, and with the aid of the saintly Prince Shotoku it reached Japan in the sixth Century A. D. Here it was further modified to suit the genius of the Japanese people.

↳ the 7th Century after Christ—a South

Indian Prince called Bodhidharma took Dhayana (Chan) Buddhism into China. It developed into great Meditation school with the blending of Taoism and when it reached Japan, it developed further with the wisdom and genius of the Japanese, where it is called Zen, and Zen is today practised both in Japan and the West.

From Bengal Pala-Mahayana Buddhism and Hindu Tantric practices spread to Tibet about the 10th Century A. D., and blended with the Tibetan culture and their Bon religion to form a new school of Buddhism called Lamaism (Vajrayana) which is common from Tibet to Mongolia.

In 1879 a great American figure, deeply interested in Hindu-Buddhist Asia, landed in Sri Lanka. He was the well-known American Buddhist Col. Henry Steel Olcott. He found Indo-Sri Lankan civilization in decadence and dedicated the rest of his life to it. He died in India in 1907 and his relics are enshrined in a monument at Adyar near Madras. In Sri Lanka he helped to establish Buddhist schools and revived Buddhist Sinhalese culture. He is revered not only in India and Sri Lanka but also throughout Buddhist Asia. He travelled to almost every Buddhist land as far as Japan and formulated fourteen basic principles common to all schools and sects of Buddhism. These basic principles common universally accepted both by the Theravadins and the Mahayanists.

Col. Olcott's fourteen basic principles were later modified by Mr. Christmas Humphreys, President of the Buddhist Society in London, and further from time to time by the World

Fellowship of Buddhists. There are now twelve universally accepted principles which are as follows :

1. Each human being is responsible for the consequences of his own thoughts, words and deeds. There is no Saviour, human or divine, who can give him enlightenment or prevent him from attaining it. The purpose of life is to attain complete enlightenment, a state of consciousness in which all sense of separate selfhood is purged away. This purpose is fulfilled by treading the Noble Eightfold Path which leads from the "house of self", aflame with hatred, lust and illusion, to the end of suffering for oneself and all beings.

2. The Buddha pointed out three signs of Being. The first fact of existence is the law of change or impermanence. All that exists, from man to mountain, from a mere thought to a notion, passes through the same cycle of existence—birth, growth, decay and death. Life alone is continuous, ever seeking self-expression in new forms. The life-force is a process of flow, and he who clings to any form, however splendid, will suffer by resisting the flow.

3. The law of change applies equally to the "self". There is no principle in an individual which is immortal and unchanging. Only the ultimate Reality which the Buddha called "The Unborn, Unoriginated, Unformed", is beyond change. All forms of life, including man, are manifestations of this Reality. No one owns the life-force which flows in him any more than the electric lamp owns the current which gives it light. It is the foolish belief in a separate self, with its own selfish desires, which causes most of human suffering.

4. The universe is the expression of law. All effects have causes, and man's character is the sum total of his own previous thoughts,

words and acts. Karma, meaning action-reaction, governs all existence, and man is the sole creator of his circumstances and his reactions to them, his future condition, and his final destiny. By right thought and action he can gradually purify his nature, and so attain in time liberation from rebirth. The process covers great periods of time, involving life after life on earth, but ultimately every sentient being will reach enlightenment.

5. The life force in which Karma operates is one and indivisible, though its ever-changing forms are innumerable and perishable. There is no death, save of temporary forms, but every form must pass through the same cycle of birth, growth, decay and death. From an understanding of life's unity arises compassion, a sense of identity with the life in other forms. Compassion is wisdom in action, a deep awareness of universal harmony. He who breaks this harmony by selfish action must restore it at the cost of suffering.

6. The interests of the part should be those of the whole. In his ignorance man thinks he can successfully strive for his own interests. This wrongly-directed energy of selfish desire produces suffering. He learns from his suffering to reduce and finally eliminate its cause. The Buddha taught four Noble Truths : (a) The omnipresence of suffering ; (b) its cause lying in wrongly-directed desire ; (c) its cure, the removal of the cause ; and (d) the Noble Eightfold Path of self-development which leads to the end of suffering.

7. The Eightfold Path consists in Right (or Perfect) Views or preliminary understanding, Right Attitude of Mind, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Concentration or mind-development, and finally, Right Samadhi leading to full enlightenment. As Buddhism is a way of living, not merely a theory of life, the treading

of this path is essential to self-deliverance. "Cease to do evil, learn to do good, cleanse your own heart; this is the teaching of the Buddhas".

10. The Buddha described the supreme Reality as "The Unborn, Unoriginated, Unformed". Nirvana, awareness of this Reality, is a state of awakening (to the Truth within) or Enlightenment, and is the goal of the Eightfold Path. This supreme state of consciousness, the extinction of the limitations of self-hood, is attainable on earth. All men and all other forms of life contain the potentiality of Enlightenment. The process, therefore consists in consciously becoming what we already potentially are. "Look within; thou art Buddha".

11. From potential to actual Enlightenment there lies the Middle Way, the Eightfold Path "from desire to peace", a process of self-development between the "opposites", avoiding all extremes. The Buddha trod this Way to the end, and faith in Buddhism includes the reasonable belief that where a guide has trodden it is worth our while to tread. The Way must be trodden by the whole man, not merely the intellect, and Compassion and Wisdom must be developed equally. The Buddha was the All-compassionate One as well as the All-enlightened One.

12. Buddhism lays stress on the need for inward concentration and meditation, which lead in time to the development of the inner spiritual faculties. The subjective life is as important as the daily round, and periods of quietude for inner activity are essential for a balanced life. The Buddhist should at all times be "mindful and self-possessed", refraining from mental and emotional attachment to the things and occasions of daily life. This increasingly watchful attitude to circumstances which he knows to be his own

creation, helps him to keep his reaction to it always under control.

13. The Buddha said, "Work out your own salvation with diligence". Buddhists know no authority for truth save the intuition of the individual, and that is authority for himself alone. Each man suffers the consequences of his own acts, and learns thereby, while helping his fellowmen to the same deliverance; nor will prayer to the Buddha or to any God prevent an effect from following its cause. The utmost tolerance is practised towards all other religions and philosophies, for no man has the right to interfere in his neighbour's journey to the goal.

14. Buddhism is neither pessimistic nor "escapist". It is a system of thought, a religion, a spiritual science and a way of life which is reasonable, practical and all-embracing. For 2,500 years it has satisfied the spiritual needs of nearly one-third of mankind. It appeals to those in search of truth because it has no dogma, satisfies the reason and the heart alike, insists on self-reliance coupled with tolerance for other points of view, embraces science, religion, philosophy, psychology, mysticism, ethics and art, and points to man alone as the creator of his present life and sole designer of his destiny.

Today, in America and the West in general all schools of Buddhism exist side by side: Theravada, Mahayana and Lamaism. Eventually there will be a synthesis of Buddhism, suitable for people living in a scientific and technological age. After all, Buddhism is a philosophy and a way of life rather than a religion.

Even the Jodo Shinshu school of Buddhism, as practised by the Buddhist Churches in America, have adopted many forms of Theravadin practices that are never used in Japan. They recite verses from the Dham-

mapada, the Eightfold Noble Path, but still retain the basic features of Jodo Shinshu tradition.

This shows that there is a new synthesis

of Buddhism in America and Europe. But the basic fact remains that we are all followers of the same universal Buddhist Path to Enlightenment and thus immortality.

ART AND MORALITY

BIBHUTI BHUSAN BOSE

Art and morality—the exact relationship between the two is a controversial topic for a long time past. Many times in the history of mankind saints and seers, poets and philosophers writers and novelists have discussed it from their individual angles of vision. Some have emphasised on the dominance of morality on art; others have expressed the opinion that art has no basic connection with morality. This problem has once again faced our country bewildered by the dazzling splendours of Western materialism. Hence, we consider it our sacred duty to express our opinion on this controversial topic.

The definition of art has been given by savants from different angles of vision in various ages. In short, art can be said as the manifestation of pleasures of human life in form of beauty and truth. It is the

medium through which the creative instinct and aesthetic sense of man find expression and it usually takes the shape of literature, music, paintings, sculptures, dance etc. on the other hand, morality consists in observing certain fundamental values of conduct for the development and progress of man in society. The final goal of all the observance of rules of conduct is the purification of body and mind. In India savants and saints, philosophers and thinkers have preached that the aim of human life on earth is salvation and for that purpose all the actions, hopes and dreams must be controlled and chaste. Honesty, truthfulness daily worship of the Divine Being, all round purity of life—these are some of the fundamental moral principles inculcated by the savants of India from time immemorial.

For the reason set forth above some

people say that art has no connection with morality. This line of thinking has given birth to a school of thought which preaches that art has to be cultivated for its own sake alone. 'Art for art's sake'—according to this theory art, being the manifestation of human life in all its varied colours, it must reveal human world in all its nakedness without the artist's mind influenced by moral consideration and the artist must not falsely represent man as something divine and holy. Therefore, in their opinion the artist's duty is only to paint beautiful objects of nature and if they attempt to preach any moral principle, its object will not be fulfilled. In the West we find the predominance of the obnoxious theory in every sphere of life—cinema, theatre, television, radio, fiction, music, poem and dance. This theory has totally shattered the moral foundation of the Western society. Immorality and Sensuality have triumphed and are depicted in the name of art. The great savants viz., Tolstoy, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells have vehemently protested against the prevalence of immorality in the name of art. Tolstoy had judged the art from the point of welfare of mankind. He did not believe in the obnoxious theory 'Art for Art's sake'. Morality and human welfare—from those two standpoints he judged art in his famous book 'What is Art?'. Hence, Shakespeare, Homer, Beethoven and Wagner—every man mentioned above—did not attract him because he found that there was want of morality in their works. Romain Rolland said 'You cover your national lewdness in the name of art and beauty' through one of the characters of his fiction. H. G. Wells wrote mournfully, 'Chastity has been replaced by unrestrained sexual freedom. New generation finds no value in fidelity and no virtue in chastity'. Thus, it is crystal clear that the advocates of the theory of Art for Art's sake do not realise at all that indecent pictures and

obscene literature must inevitably poison and pollute the moral health of modern society.

The influence of the above theory has slowly began to enter our society. To-day in India we find that all sorts of vulgarities are going on under the guise of art. In this connection, we should bear in mind that an artist on no account should be allowed to preach immorality in the name of art. Poems, fictions, short stories, music, dance, theatre, cinema, radio, television—in every sphere we find the prevalence of immorality under the sacred cover of art. But, unfortunately, all these poisonous things are getting applause from section of the public. The total effect of all these actions have been reflected in our disordered and corrupted society. All the precious values of the bygone days viz., chastity, honesty, truthfulness have become mere superstitions. The tendency of the modern society shows that the want of religious life means the total uprootment of all moral values of the past. Therefore, we should firmly declare that all round chastity of life must be our only standard of morality and any deviation in any sphere from that lofty ideal must be condemned.

This conception of all round purity of life has led to a school of thought which holds that all human activities and art is not an exception to these—must be controlled and regulated by moral laws and must lead towards perfection of man on earth. 'All art to be great must be moralised'—said Symonds and this view has been accepted by the saints and savants of India from time immemorial. In India every action of man including art must be performed as the spontaneous worship of the Divine Being. Mirabai, the queen of Rajasthan, attained the Supreme Being only by the deep and passionate music of the Divine Being. The spirit of Indian art can be found in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata where art and morality go side by side. It is

proved beyond doubt that art is possible by accepting moral principles of the world. The ideal husband, the ideal wife, the ideal brother the ideal hero-in fact—the ideal of human life on earth has been exquisitely depicted in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Indian poets and saints tried their level best to preach the universal moral principles through art. Human life is an undivided entity and it cannot be divided into water-tight compartments. There is and must be a close connection between art and morality. If the artist overlooks the moral aspect of art, he will do a great and permanent harm to the mankind.

Of late in India a tendency to depict art overlooking its moral aspect has gained much popularity through Radio, Television, cinema, theatre etc. The government of India does not pay any heed to the moral aspect of Art. Hence, vulgarities are depicted or expressed through those vehicles of public entertainment. We must arise our voice of protest against the policy of the Government of India to demoralise the entire nation through Radio, Television, Cinema and theatre. Morality should be carefully preserved through all these vehicles of public entertainment and the Government of India has sacred duty in this respect. At the present moment people of India are very much eager to purchase Television for their domestic use. In this connection, the opinion of eminent savant of the West is to be mentioned. He said 'We have brought brothel to our kitchen'. Hence, moral aspect of Television etc. should not be neglected.

Thus, it is crystal clear that the remedy for the present degradation of society is religion, a sense of the necessity of a chaste and disciplined life. All the action of man must be regulated and controlled in a pure way. Savants of India preached that the goal of human life on earth is salvation, a

complete cessation of desires and for that reason artist should be guided by morality and religion. He must realise that materialism and its attendant evils are not the panacea for the moral deterioration of society and should preach spirituality through Art. It is true that clouds have enveloped the blue firmament of India from all sides. Spirituality, religion, morality and chastity—every precious value is being ridiculed in Modern India. In spite of this we should raise our voice of protest against the immorality which is eating the very vitals of the nation. Many years ago Swami Vivekananda, the immortal expounder of Indian culture and civilisation remarked about Indian Ideal of life in the following words :—

"Renunciation, that is the flag, the banner of India floating over the world, the one undying thought which India sends again and again as a warning to all dying races, as a warning to all tyranny, as a warning to the wickedness in the world. Renunciation has conquered India in days of yore.

It has still to conquer India. Still it stands as the greatest and highest of Indian ideal—this renunciation. The land of Buddha, the land of Ramanuja, the land of Ramakrishna Paramhansa, the land of renunciation, the land where from the days of yore, Karma kanda was preached and even to-day there are hundreds who have given up everything and become Jivanmuktas—aye, will that land give up its deals? Certainly not. There may be people whose brains have become turned by the western luxurious ideals; there may be thousands and hundreds who have drunk deep of enjoyment, this curse of the West, the senses, the curse of the World, yet for all that there will be other thousands in this motherland mine to whom religion will ever be a reality and who will be ever ready to give up every-

thing without counting the cost, if need be."

We have tried, in the above, to approach the problem of art and morality from Indian point of view. Let the poets and novelists, painters and musicians, dancers and dramatists, actors and actresses deeply ponder over

the depth of moral deterioration of our society.

They should attempt to rejuvenate the society in the light of India's spirituality and create art, an art capable of guiding the individual on his journey to the ideal world—this is our fervent appeal to them.

CONCEPTION OF LOVE IN RABINDRA LITERATURE

SANTOSH KUMAR DE

Love is the hub round which revolves poetry and literature of every age and country. Poetry and literature of a country minus love affairs can never be conceived as true as the play of Hamlet being staged without the role of the Prince of Denmark. This love has invariably been conceived on the background of the body of men and women. The spiritual or sexless love minus the body, known as Platonic love may be conceived in idea but it would be difficult to find it in reality in this world of colour and beauty. Attraction to youth and beauty, and pleasure in physical enjoyment cannot be denied, however immoral it may appear. The diverse amorous sports of love have been centred round the nucleus of physical attraction from age

to age, but this love based solely on attraction and desire of pleasure can never give a man supreme bliss or lull the yearning of his restless soul; for this beauty or attraction is subject to decay, and the desire and the pleasure have their end and satiety. The love that springs forth from the union of a heart with a heart is the true and deathless love that lasts till eternity.

In his first youth Rabindranath conceived of love that was independent of body—love that was more ethereal than earthly. He thought that the beauty and beautiful ideal of love might be married if the lover failed to conceive of a love beyond the range of body. His conception of love, at this age never tries to have the whole.

"The little smile, the fragment of talk/The glance of sight, And the hint of 'love' would satisfy the poet. This was the conception of love of the poet in the Manasi age. In his "Birahananda" the poet laments why, "The sweet languishment is o'er !/Body burns in the fire of union."

The second conception of love of the poet is that true love cannot be conceived unless it is purified in the fire of sorrow and separation, or passes through the fiery ordeal of trials, temptations and tribulations.

The third conception of love of the poet that to attain the fullness of love, women should not be considered as an object of mere enjoyment and fulfilment of desire as that would enhance the lust and desire of man which knows no end. So women should be desired as wife, as source of happiness and prosperity, as a deity of home (Griha Laksmi). She should be true to the kindred point of heaven and home.

The poet although acknowledges the influence of the love that in a selfish manner creates its own heaven with lover outside the ken of its own environment and away from kith and kin, yet he never sings halleluja to it; for that selfish love cannot long bear its own burden and soon it breaks down and fades away to nothingness. The united love that is formed between man and woman in society gives rise to collective and individual good, for women should never be considered as a mere source of satisfaction of desire. She has her dual form—she is a sweetheart as well as the mistress of the house, she is wife as well as a friend, a comrade in work as well as intimate of the heart, Urbashi and Lakshmi. At night she courts man as his lover, the most desired, at day she appears as a goddess. This idea, the poet elaborates in his poem "Rate-o-Pravate". To have her as a sweetheart or as a consort is not to have

her truly. Woman should be participant in man's weal and woe, his friend, adviser and attendant.

If a woman tries to bind a man with her beauty and youth, that bond will easily snap. With this ideal conception of love of Rabindranath another idea is interwoven, and that is that the summum bonum and fruition of woman's love lies in her motherhood. This conception of love of the poet is revealed through Basanta in his immortal poetic drama Chitrangada where he says, : When flower finishes blooming, /Fruit is revealed.

That is the mistress and sweet heart is the flower here, and the issue is the fruit. This idea of love, Rabindranath seems to have conceived from Kalidasa's Shakuntala and Kumar Sambhavam. In his criticism of the two immortal works of Kalidasa, the poet said :

Kalidasa has admitted the power of the love that knows no bondage, acknowledges no law, that perches its banner of victory on the battered battlement of continence and restraint, but he has never surrendered to it. He has shown that the blind love that makes one self-centred is baffled by the curse of Rishi and crossed by the negligence of husband. When to Shakuntala hospitality is nothing, Dushyanta is everything, love loses its blessing. That was why she had to come back insulted from the court of Dushyanta; but when she purified her desires in the fire of asceticism in the hermitage, and gave birth to Bharat, she was taken back with royal reception.

Similarly in the Kumar Sambhavam, when Gouri, clad in flower-ornaments went to captivate the great ascetic, Girisha, she became baffled and had to come back after cursing her beauty and youth. Again, when she practised hard asceticism, and her desires were consumed, she got Girisha, and the epic culminated in

the birth of Kumara.

This conception of love of the poet at the time of writing Chitrangada, where he raised a paean of joy in the fruition of love that ended in the birth of a child, again seems to have undergone a change in the next stage. This ideal love, now the poet thinks, will lose its charm and beauty if it is within one's grasp or confined within the four walls of the house in the daily transactions of life. Now, the poet realises, ideal love should have stamina for permanence, be subjective, and being beyond the touch of daily life will inspire men and women for ever. Love loses its sanctity in the daily use of life. To keep love ever bright and untarnished to turn it to a philosopher's stone that turns everything to gold, it shall not come within grasp, it should be like a will-o'-the-wisp, something like the quest of the Holy Grail, unattained and unattainable. This ideal of love of the poet finds its full realisation in Sasher Kavita where the poet paints an unattached conception of love.

Amit and Labanya loved each other dearly, their union was not improbable; but finally Amit marries Ketty, and Labanya marries Sovan Lal. The love between Amit and Labanya was purely aesthetical. They thought their ideal love would lose its charm in their union. To keep their firebaked love eternally alive and ever effulgent, they must not demand physical union—they shall have to live apart from each other. So Amit says:—

The love that pervades the boundless sky, gives companionship to mind, but the love that is mixed with everything of every day life gives fellowship..... My relationship with Katakai is of love undoubtedly, but that love is like the water gathered in a pitcher which should be daily collected for everyday use. Whereas my love for Labanya is like the water of a big tank, that cannot be brought home, my mind will swim in it for eternity.

Labanya says:—Let my love remain

untarnished. There will be no outside influence on it..... My fire-baked love lays no claim to pleasure. My love is free, so it can give freedom to others—it cannot bring weariness or stain.

A few months after Sasher Kabita the poet wrote Basanti. Here, too, the conception of love seems to be as before. Someshankar loved Basanti but to fulfil his vow, he married Sushama by order of the ascetic Purandar, vice versa Sushama loved Purandar but she married Someshankar. That is to fulfil his (Someshankar's) vow, Sushama become Someshankar's wife; but to appease his hunger for love Sushama remained as an object of remembrance. That is why at the time of bidding goodbye Someshankar said:—"What I have got from you and what I have given you shall never touch this marriage." Here man is idealist and woman is realist. But a question crops up here, will not marriage without love make the life of Ketaki and Sushama unbearable in the long run? Love is woman's whole existence, if she is deprived of that the sheet-anchor of her life will recede from her.

"Man's love of man's life is a thing apart
It is woman's whole existence."

If she is denied that how will she live? Besides, to give daily companionship to one and to play the part of a lover for one whom one does not love is nothing but self-deception. Passion without love is possible but love without passion is never possible. How long will they be able to play this role only for ideal's sake is also to be taken into consideration.

An altogether new conception of love, far from the beau-ideal, hitherto pursued and almost un-Rabindranath like is found in two novels viz, Two Sisters and Malancha. This conception of love is found in no other writings of Rabindranath. In both the novels, the two

heroes having no love in married life, satisfy their hankering for love outside the wed lock.

Rabindranath's conception of love may also be had to some extent from his "Paschim Jatrir Diary" where he writes :—

Woman's love wants the man whom she loves—she is always eager to protect her love by all means. Women are 'avisarika' to all intents and purposes. They struggle hard to cross the barrier of separation by any means. That is why men sometimes like to run away to a safe distance, discarding the bond of companionship..... Just as the light of creation of women is love, so the light of creation of men is fancy and imagination. Man's eyes look at a thing with the sight of this fancy. "We are dreams of dream" is man's version..... Women create at home, so they can store everything carefully..... whereas man's creation is on the way. So he lightens the burden of everything and wants to get the entire whole. This thirst for the whole has based man's fame on suffering and sacrifice This thirst for the whole of man is revealed in his love also. When he loves a woman, he wants to get her as an entire whole. This peculiarity of man is seen in his activities again and again.

From this it seems to us, the poet wants to

raise love from the dusty dry world and place it in an ideal world of imagination. Love seems here bereft of desire and fruition—it seems to be related more with the infinite than with the finite, flesh and blood. So this ideal love being unable to spread its wings in the boundless sky withers within wedlock, and pines within the four walls of room ; so the poet gives love freedom.

Elsewhere the poet writes about love :—

Love is like the Ganges to flow freely. None can put a stop on this flowing current, and say it is mine and mine alone. It will flow from one birth to another.....through forgetfulness to diversity and through diversity to eternity. It will flow on and on, I find no other alternative. (Rudra Griha Rabindranath.)

Rabindranath has again said —

The love that makes you weep, again wipes away your tears, enkindles the light of smile. In smile and tears, in light and shade it keeps the bower of beauty ever green. Love never allows anyone to weep always. The love that makes you weep for want of one, brings others to you.

Thus there was an evolution in the ideals of love in Rabindra literature. It was never static but changed its course from time to time according to the change of time.



RIGHT TO PROPERTY AND THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

By the time of making the constitution, property has been firmly recognised almost throughout the world—that man has an inherent right to property. This has, however, been recognised in England by common law. But in other constitutional provisions guarantee this right within express limits.

Subba Rao, a former Chief Justice of India, has widely distinguished Anglo-American Jurisprudence from Russian Jurisprudence in this regard¹. He points out that Articles 4 and 5 of the Soviet constitution leave very limited scope of personal property as a fundamental right in comparison to that of America. The Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the American constitution read: 'No person shall be deprived of life and property without the due process of law'. Property, in the American system, means not only the physical thing which may be owned, but also the right of dominion, possession and dispossession; and the right to property preserved by the constitution is the right not only to possess it, but also to acquire it by lawful manner. Thus, right to property, in its broader sense, consists of three elements: to acquire, to own and to possess and to dispose of the same.

But under modern conditions of life, no right can be regarded as inviolable or absolute². So the right to property is also subjected to social norms as reflected in the statutory enactments. The state is increasingly invading this right in one way or other for the well-being of the society. The State imposes its

restrictive authority in three different ways—power of taxation, the police power and the power of eminent domain. The power of taxation is the legal capacity of the government to raise revenue for government purposes; 'police power' is the legal authority of the government to control personal liberty of the individuals for the protection of social good; 'eminent domain' empowers the government to take the private property of the individuals for a public use upon the payment of just compensation³.

It is evident that the absolute doctrine of the freedom of property propounded by Locke, Bentham, Spencer, Kant, Hegel and others no longer holds the ground. Modern notions of the state-activities and governmental duties have brought about a fundamental change in the doctrine of private property and limitations are imposed on this right whenever the interests of the society so require. In other words, right to property, like other guaranteed rights, must be enjoyed in harmony with the social structure.

Original position :

Under Art. 19(1)(f) of the constitution, an individual enjoys the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property subject to reasonable restrictions that may be imposed by the state in the interests of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any scheduled tribe.⁴

Art. 31(-) enjoins that no person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law.

Under Art. 31(2), no property shall be

taken possession of or acquired for public purpose under any law unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of compensation, or specifies the principles on which and the manner in which the compensation is to be determined and given.

According to Art.31(3), no such law as is referred to in clause (2) made by the Legislative of a state shall have effect unless such law, having been reserved for the consideration of the President, has received his assent.

Clause (4) of the Article enjoins that if any Bill pending at the commencement of this constitution in the Legislative of a state has, after it has been passed by such Legislative, been reserved for the consideration of the President and has received his assent, then, notwithstanding anything in the constitution, the law so assented to shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of clause (2).

It is sufficiently clear that while the constitution guarantees right to property, it provides ample scope to the state to exercise the control over it under police power and the power of eminent domain. Art.31(1) enjoins that no person shall be deprived of property save by authority of law. To put in a positive form, a person can, however, be deprived of his property by authority of law. As Das J., held⁵. A close examination of the language of clause (1) will show that this immunity is a limited one and this will at once be perceived if we convert the negative language of clause (1) into positive language. In its positive form clause (1) will read :—

'Any person may be deprived of his property by authority of law'. The constitution thus protects the citizen against the arbitrary action of the executive but the

legislative has been placed on higher pedestal. The legislature, as a condition to requisition or acquisition of property, can fix the amount of compensation or specify the principles thereof.⁶ In short, the state may exercise its police power or power of eminent domain subject to three conditions : (i) there must be some public purpose, (ii) acquisition or requisition must be based upon law and (iii) law must provide for compensation.

It is significant that the special protection given to the various Zamindari abolition laws did not prove to be of much avail. Soon after the inception of the constitution, the Zamindars tested the validity of these laws against some of the fundamental rights. The unanimous verdict of the Patna High Court was in favour of the Zaminders. The court held that whether a particular piece of land is for a public purpose was a matter which was not beyond the scrutiny of the courts and that Bihar State Management of Estate and Tenures Act was not for a public purpose and hence void. Allahabad and Nagpur High Courts, on the other hand, upheld analogous governmental legislations. Naturally, the given battle was thereafter carried to the Supreme Court.

The First Amendment :

When the government realised that the legal issue would inevitably consume much time with consequent frustration of the masses of people, it decided to amend the constitution whereby adverse judicial decisions could be combated.⁷ The First Amendment was accordingly passed in 1951 adding two new Articles—31A and 31B. A new schedule containing all state laws of dubious legal character regarding property was added to the constitution.

Art.31A(1) enjoins that no law providing for the acquisition by the state of any estate or of any right therein or for the extinguish-

ment or modification of any such rights shall be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with the rights conferred by any provisions of this part.

The, Clause (2) of the Article reads :

a) The expression 'estate' shall, in relation to any local area, have the same meaning as that expression or its local equivalent has in the existing law relating to land tenures in force in that area, and shall also include any *ligir*, *Inam* or *muafi* or other similar grant ;

b) the expression 'rights' in relation to an estate, shall include any rights vesting in Proprietor, Sub-proprietor, under-proprietor, tenure-holder or other intermediary and any rights or privileges in respect of land revenue.

Under Art. 31B, without prejudice to the generality of the provisions contained in Art. 31A, none of the Acts and Regulations thereof shall be deemed to be void, or ever to have become void, on the ground that such Act, Regulation or provision is inconsistent with or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by any provisions.

It is significant that the appeals to the Supreme Court was still pending when the First Amendment was passed. According to Alexandrouiz 8: Such curtailment of the right in order to facilitate the enactment of measures of social welfare when the ink was hardly dry on the constitution created an unfortunate precedent. Though the Supreme Court rejected the plea that the First Amendment was rather unconstitutional, its unanimous verdict, of course, make a clear revelation of the disapproval of the Court of the action of Government in amending the constitution (Shankari Prasad V. Union). Dr. S. C. Dash⁹ very pertinently remarks that these two Articles not only displayed a degree of intolerance towards the constituted judiciary of the land but also denied any right of property to the landed estate-owners.

Writing about 31A, Joshi¹⁰ remarks

that the exact implication of this provision is very far-reaching and it seems that it may justify expropriation of landed estates.

Fourth Amendment :

In 1955 Right to property was further amended. Art.31(2) was modified substantially and a new Art.2A was added¹¹. It was welcomed from different quarters, but it was subject to severe criticism from several quarters especially from the academic circle. But the most trenchant criticism has emanated from Prof. D. N. Banerjee¹². He criticises the amendment on several grounds. According to him, the change made by the new clause (2) of Art.31 which enjoins that no law regarding compensation for acquisition or requisition of property shall be called in question in any court on the ground that the compensation provided by that law is inadequate, is not in accordance with the intentions of our makers. He thinks that it enables the legislatures to make compensation nominal or illusory and no remedy could be offered by the judiciary.

Secondly, he thinks that the amendment authorises the Government to satisfy the requirement of the constitution if any positive quantity of money above zero was paid. Thus, Prof. Banerjee observes : 'Therefore, the Fundamental Right to property as originally guaranteed by the constitution and as expounded by over Supreme Court, has been, in effect, largely abrogated by the new clause (2).

Thirdly, the points out, many verbal assurances were given by the Prime Minister and other Official spokesmen in the floor of the legislatures that no injustice was to be done to any person under that Act. But, he adds, despite standing verbal assurances to the contrary, the power conferred by the new clause may be misused.

He, then points out that right to property is a gift of society which is recognised and enforced by the State. If a particular right is not pro-

protected by legal justice, it is not right at all. The new clause, he observes, is a constitutional bar and implies a great erosion of our Fundamental Right to property.

Lastly, he points out a legal mistake of Pandit Nehru, who observed that the amendment was necessary to make the Fundamental Rights subservient to the Directive Principles of State Policy. Prof. Banerjee scathingly remarks that such utterances and consequent measures are against the scheme of our constitution. He points out that while Chapter IV was entirely non-justiciable, the Fundamental Rights were justiciable rights of the citizen. So, he thinks, the former cannot legally supersede the guaranteed rights. In support of his view he quotes Das J., who held in *Champakam V. State of Madras*: The chapter of Fundamental Rights is sacrosanct and not liable to be abridged by any Legislative or Executive Act or order, except to the extent provided in the appropriate Article in Part III. The Directive Principles of State policy gave to conform to and run as subsidiary to the Chapter of Fundamental Rights.

The net result, of these amendments is that the legislature has been given the legal authority to abridge or take away the right to property whenever it seems necessary and no judiciary can come forward to uphold the rights enshrined in Chapter III. A person's property can be taken away by a competent legislation and a nominal compensation may be paid to him and he cannot move the court on the ground that the amount of compensation is not sufficient.¹³ As D. D. Basu, points out, now the constitution gives final authority to the legislature and the judiciary can only prevent confiscatory legislation, or acquisition or requisition without compensation.¹⁴ Similarly, writes Douglas, whatever the cause, the 1955 amendment casts a shadow over every private factory, plant or other

individual enterprise in India. The Legislature may now appropriate it at any price it desires, substantial or nominal'.¹⁵

Economic need and legal difficulty :

As Dr. Pylee¹⁶ points out, the Fourth amendment has brought about a major departure from the original intentions of the framers of the constitution. But such drastic amendment was only necessary on the part of the Government. P. B. Gajendragadkar,¹⁷ a former Chief Justice, has emphatically observed that the economic ideals of the government necessitated such measures.

Various state governments passed land reforms acts which largely affected the interest of the Zamindars. As pointed out earlier, they sought legal remedies and sometimes state High Courts upheld their claim. Thus *Kameswar V. State of Bihar*, the Patna High Court held that the omission of the word 'just' or 'fair' does not make the question of amount of compensation non-justiciable. A similar opinion was held by the Calcutta High Court in *Bela Bonerjee's case*. When the latter case was decided by the Supreme Court, Sastri, C.J. rejected the state's contention that the term 'compensation' did not mean full cash equivalent and held: 'While it is true that the Legislature is given the discretionary power of laying down the principles which should govern the determination of the amount to be given to the owner for the property appropriated, such principles must ensure that what is determined as payable must be compensation, that is, a just equivalent of what the owner has been deprived of within the limits of this basic requirement of full indemnification of the expropriated owner, the constitution allows free play to the legislative judgment as to what principles should guide the determination of the amount payable.

This decision of the Court was however, nullified by the Fourth Amendment Act in

1955 by which Art 31(2) was replaced by a new clause and a provision was added making the amount of compensation non-justifiable.¹⁸ The inclusion of clause (2A) was necessitated by the fact that the Supreme Court invalidated a Central enactment by which Sholapur spinning and Weaving Company was taken over by the Government. The Court examined the co-relation of Art 31(1) and 31(2) and held: 'From the language employed in the different sub-clauses of Art.31, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the words acquisition and taking possession used in Art.31(2) have the same meaning as the word 'deprivation' in Art. 31(1). The Government, naturally, wanted to get rid of legal obstacles and passed the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act which is mentioned earlier.

But the legal battle continued and the Supreme Court again struck at the validity of the Kerala and Madras Land Reforms Acts which fixed the ceilings on land-holdings. This led to the passing of the Seventeenth Amendment by virtue of which 44 Acts of the States were included in the Ninth Schedule in order to presume their legal validity.

Seventeenth Amendment :

It further enlarges the definition of the word 'estate' so as to include various types of land and provide for compensation at the market value of land where land is acquired within the ceiling limit.

There are, however, some provisions in our constitution relating to right to property which seek to provide against any misuse of power by state legislatures and to ensure uniformity of legislation in respect of compulsory acquisition or requisitioning of private property under clause (2) of Art. 31. But the total effect of the amendments already made in regards to right to property, is to increase the authority of the legislature to an extent not consistent with the scheme of our constitution. Three

amendments of the constitution has made right to property almost non-enforceable.

Role of the Judiciary :

So far as the fundamental Rights are concerned, the judiciary has so far played a crucial role. In the performance of the delicate duty it has even been subject to indecent criticism from many politicians and administrators. It has stoutly upheld the individual right to property in particular and in order to remove the adverse judicial decisions, the Government has been compelled to amend the constitution three times within two decades.

Of course, the late Prime Minister, Nehru, asserted that the manner in which the compensation for acquisition of property was to be paid, was a matter of legislature choice and that 'there is no reference in this to any judiciary coming into this picture. He further claimed that 'No Supreme Court and no judiciary can stand judgment over the sovereign will of Parliament representing the entire will of the community.'¹⁹

The judiciary, very fortunately, has assured a role much wider than that assigned to it by our late Prime Minister. As Sastri, C. J., observed in *Subodh Gopal V. State of West Bengal*. 'The purpose of Art. 31, it is hardly necessary to emphasise, is not to declare the right of the State to deprive a person of his property but, as the heading of the Article shows, to protect the right to property of every person. It is an important limitation on that power that legislative action is a pre-requisite for its exercise. It is this limitation which the framers of our constitution have embodied in clause (1) of Art 31 which is thus designed to protect the rights to property against deprivation by the State acting through its executive organ, the Government. Clause (2) imposes two further limitations on the Legislature itself. It is prohibited from

making a law authorising expropriation except for public purposes and on payment of compensation for the injury sustained by the owner.'

The Fourth amendment Act, however, substantially reduced the scope of judicial review in cases of acquisition of property. But the amendment did not completely eliminate judicial scrutiny of 'compensation' though it was therein stated that amount of compensation was a matter to be solely determined by the legislature. Of course, if the court, after the amendment, examines the amount of compensation as 'just equivalent', the amendment is then nugatory. But, as Subba Rao observed in *Bajrovelu's case* (1965): But this much is clear if the compensation is illusory or if the principles prescribed are irrelevant to the value of the property at or about the time of its acquisition, it can be said that the legislature committed a fraud and therefore, the law is bad.

Of course, the possibilities of fraud on the constitution by a popular legislature is not ordinarily likely and hence the scope of judicial intervention is rather limited. But a door is open by Art.14 by which the court decisively intervened in *Kameswar's case*, in *Vajravelu's case* and in the case of *Bank Nationalisation of 1970*. In the last mentioned case, the Court ruled out bank nationalisation scheme on the ground of its being inconsistent with Articles 14, 19 and 31.

The Court in the case held, by a ten-to-one majority, that one of the defects of the impugned Act was that the method of payment of compensation was unsatisfactory. Ray, J., in his dissent, however, pointed out that the court was not competent to question the amount or method of payment of the compensation. It seems, naturally, that in spite of the drastic amendments our judiciary has yet determined to exercise judicial review of legis-

lation when it allegedly violates any of the fundamental rights.

In *Golaknath's case*, the court reversed the judicial precedents regarding Parliament's authority of amendment of the constitution and decided by a majority judgment that Fundamental Rights were beyond the reach of Parliament. According to the majority of the learned judges. Fundamental rights were transcendental and none of them could be taken away or abridged by constitutional amendment. But they, by applying the principles of 'prospective overruling' preserved the validity of the earlier amendments of similar nature but prohibited any future onslaught on these rights.²⁰

It is interesting to note that, Das, J in *Chiranjit Lal's case*, observed that our constitution provided for deprivation of private property in exercise of 'police power' and not only of 'eminent domain'. His Lordship pointed out that the language of clause (1) of Art.31 is wider than that of clause (2) for deprivation of property may well be brought about otherwise than by taking possession of it or by acquiring it. He observed that clause (1) permitted deprivation of property by authority of law and no question of compensation arises under this clause. Clause (2) protects right to property and asserts that certain kinds of deprivation of property, namely acquisition or taking possession of it unless the law provides for compensation.' Thus he concludes: 'If the deprivation of property is brought about by means other than acquisition or taking possession of it, no compensation is required, provided that such deprivation is by authority of law.'

But this view was not accepted by Sastri, C. J. and Mahajan and Hasan JJ. In *Subodh Gopal's case*, Sastri, C. J. said inter alia, Clause (1) and (2) of Art.31 are not mutually exclusive in scope and content, but should, in

my view, be read together and understood as dealing with the same subject, namely, the protection of the right to property by means of limitations on the state power referred to above, the deprivation contemplated in clause (1) being no other than the acquisition or taking possession of property referred to in clause (2). His Lordship, thus, rejected the claim that Art.31(1) provides for 'police power' for the state. In this case, however, Jagannathdas, J., in his dissent, observed that he was unable to agree that Art.31(1) had reference only to the power of Eminent Domain.

In Solapur Spinning and Weaving Co's case, Mahajan J., categorically remarked that Art.31 deals with the field of eminent domain and the whole boundary of that field is demarcated by this Article. In this case the Government argued that it was not a case of 'eminent domain,' but of 'police power' and that no compensation was consequently to be paid. But the Court viewed that taking possession amounted to acquisition within the meaning of clause (2) of Art. 31 and hence compensation had to be paid no matter what use the State made of it.

Some considerations :

It has been contended that right to property stultifies future progress and needs to be modified in order to ensure socio-economic justice. Gajendragadkar²¹ favours the previous amendments regarding right to property on such attractive ground. It is held that it is the task of the government to establish an ascent India in which justice—social, political and economic—is reached to all. The Directive Principles, specially Articles 38 and 39 positively confers upon the state that strenuous task. It is further held that if any particular right is inconsistent with original to social welfare as envisaged by the Directives, the former needs modification

and even abolition. We however, humbly submit that such reasoning is fallacious.

Establishment of a society based on justice might be the task of the Government, but that is enjoined in the non-enforceable part of Preamble and Directive principles. But the Fundamental Rights are enforceable in India and any law contravening such rights is void (Art. 13(2)). Thus, as Das J., held in *Champakam V. State of Madras*, Directive Principles must conform to the Fundamental Rights. In *Golaknath's case*, Hidayatullah, J. observed : 'While the world is anxious to secure Fundamental Rights, internationally, it is a little surprising that some intellectuals in our country whom we may call class non classe after Hegel, think of Directive Principles in our constitution as if they were Superior to the Fundamental Rights.²² The court, by a majority held that a balanced outlook was necessary and Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles must be respected simultaneously.

Secondly, successive amendments of the constitution confers a very wide charter on the state to acquire and hold property for public purposes without payment of a large amount of compensation, provided it fulfils other requirements. It seems that, supreme court also, in various pronouncements, have recognised this position. Therefore, Writs Sarjoo Prasad,²³ now there appears to be no adequate reason to amend the constitution unless the idea is that property should be expropriated or confiscated by the state without any compensation at all. The state may confiscate, if, of course, law permits it and social welfare is more important than individual claim, but we must know how far would we tread. As Subba Rao observes, if undue attachment to acquisition of property is bad, revaluatory zeal to dislocate this institution is worse.

Thirdly, in order to halt mad craze for such abolition of further curtailment or abolition of Right to Property, the Supreme Court pronounced its historic verdict in Golaknath's case. According to this verdict, Parliament is incompetent to take away or abridge any of the guaranteed rights and only a constituent Assembly convoked by Parliament can amend the constitution with a view to curtailing the rights.²⁴

Fourthly, legal question apart, curtailment of such right, as Subba Rao scathingly remarks, reflects a totalitarian programme, which is inconsistent with our constitutional scheme of liberal democracy and rule of law.²⁵ Moreover, the chief architects of our constitution, Dr. Ambedkar,²⁶ promised that the rights would be inviolable, J. L. Nehru,²⁷ Radhakrishnan²⁸ and other leaders of the constituent Assembly guaranteed the right to property in clear language.

Twenty-Fifth Amendment :

But the Right to property has undergone a further amendment by the 25th amendment of the constitution. It is interesting to note that the court has reversed the position it assumed in Golaknath case and upheld the 25th amendment Bill by which right to property has been drastically curtailed with the increasing authority of Parliament. Now our Parliament has acquired to supreme authority which the 40th amendment act purported to do. Of course, with little effect. By the 25th amendment the authority of Parliament is unique because the word 'compensation' enjoined in Art. 31 has been omitted and the term 'amount' has been incorporated therein. This means that the government can acquire or requisition a property against an amount of money freely decided by Parliament. In short, the government is no longer required to pay compensation for acquisition or requisition of property; it is

Parliament which can by law decide the principle of paying the aggrieved property-owner and no proceedings can be brought to the judiciary on the ground that the payment has been inadequate. The present position is that the right to property is considered to be not only the most controversial, but also the weakest of all the fundamental rights under Indian constitution.²⁹

Forty Second Amendment :

As the Supreme Court upheld Parliament's power to abridge Fundamental rights by amendment, our Parliament has not missed the chance of exercising that authority. It has enlarged the scope of Art. 31-C by which it can make further inroad to the Right to Property in order to implement the principles laid down in the Directive Principles. As a result, if any law is passed with the object of giving effect to any of the Directives, no compensation under Art 21(2) need now be paid for the acquisition private property. Moreover, if the Government occupies a property which was being used by an anti-social association, there would be no obligation to pay anything as compensation.³⁰

Thus, the Right to property is now almost within the arbitrary action on the part of the legislature and the scope of judicial review is being increasingly narrower.

Of course Setalvad³¹ points out, the adequacy of compensation was clearly made a matter for the discretion of the legislature. But the question is, what is the reason of such a drastic measure? The original arrangement permitted acquisition with compensation. But successive amendments have removed this requirement and enable the state to confiscate property with a compensation worth any amount more than zero. This is unthinkable in a democratic constitution which limited the legislative authority,

established a judiciary with power of judicial review in a very broad sense. Indian citizens, are very conscious of their rights,³² but now right to property has been made a legal right and not 'fundamental' right.³³

Conclusion :

Our constitution originally envisaged to safeguard the Fundamental Rights from the onslaughts of both executive and legislative branches of government.³⁴ But now, as D. D. Basu³⁵, very cogently observes, right to property can be safeguarded against arbitrary attempts of the executive, but no such guarantee is accorded against the actions of the Legislature. In this sense, the original intention of the makers has been largely frustrated and it may be questioned whether Right to property can be regarded in India as a right proper.

Dr. Wheare once wrote : 'No realistic attempt to define the rights of the citizen, indeed, can fail to include qualification. Yet when we see the results, it is difficult to resist asking the question : what of substance is left after the qualifications have been given full effect ? This is alarmingly true in India so far as Right to Property is concerned. The time is up when one may question whether the heading of the 'Right to property' is to be changed to mean the 'Right of the state to hold property'.

Aristotle³⁶ held that the institution of private property enriched individual character. We need not, if we like, fanatically cling to this view. Individual's claim to liberty must be subservient to social good and in the greater interest of the nation, including, that of property, may need some modification.³⁷ But our Parliament has perhaps gone too far and the balance has moved almost disproportionately.

It is interesting to note that the right to property was one of the most controversial

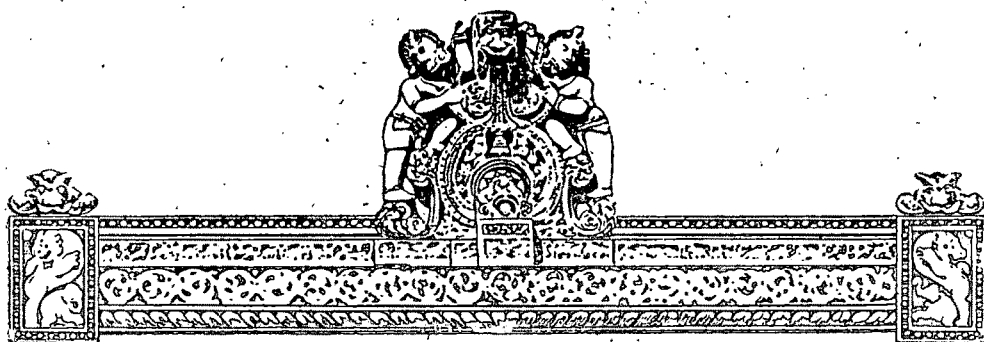
matter in the constituent Assembly. After heated debates and clash of interest the original position was taken. At last, the right to property was guaranteed without being influenced by the propertied interest of the country.³⁸ But now it is denied even to the poorest man. Right to property, so to speak, should no longer remain in chapter III with other guaranteed rights. But, as a matter of fact, right to property is a very important factor in individual life.³⁹

Human life is obviously dynamic and an inelastic constitution may fail to adjust to the changing needs of the society. This may precipitate a crisis the price of which might be lamentable.⁴⁰ But we must remember that dedication of the individual at the altar of society would equally be a tragic oddity. A healthy balance is to be struck judiciously and the rights of the individual must not be a lightly treated by the popular leaders. Catchy slogans might attract a sentimental generation, but after a time it may be found by all concerned that in the name of progressive evolution, the precious values for which men have fought through ages have unfortunately been sacrificed.

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Current Affairs

Planning for Calcutta—2001

Calcutta's problems are similar to the problems of large cities all over the world. The major apparent problem is that of transportation, which was diagnosed by Dr. B. C. Roy. He mooted the question of a tube railway for Calcutta. A French team came and gave a report, but the tube railway remained a pending project.

In the meantime, the circular railway project was mooted. Though interest in it waxed and waned it has remained a very palatable formula. Fortunately, CMPO during the sixties carried out factual investigations and even as great a man as Nehru remarked, "Calcutta is the biggest city in the country. Its problems are national problems." Thus, it was in keeping with this interest by the Central Government that a Metropolitan Transport Team arrived and after study called for two feasibility reports—one concerning the circular railway, and the other concerning the tube railway. Detailed investigations were carried out and feasibility reports were made by two separate groups of senior engineers. From these two feasibility reports the Planning Commission selected in their wisdom that the tube railway should be taken up. It automatically meant that the project for the circular railway was to remain in the background until the tube railway was put through or, at least, it meant that the Central Government could not finance two such projects at the same time. This position continues. If funds were to be allocated today for starting the circular railway it will be cut out of the funds for the tube railway and,

therefore, when the tube railway is poised for a geometrical progression of work depending on continually increased funding, it can be a serious set-back if funds were to be drawn out of it. Therefore, at least the metro railway construction authorities would wholeheartedly like to devote their entire toil to get this work through.

The West Bengal Government have also approached the Planning Commission indicating their willingness to allow the metro railway construction works to begin, though in a small way for the present, also along the Chittaranjan Avenue so that some advance is made in the construction of stations which, otherwise, would take two to three years longer than the rest of the box construction.

The tube railway has already shown its paces. From Rs. 17 crores spent in first four years between 1972 and 1977, between 1977 and 1978 over Rs. 17 crores were spent in two years and in 1978-79, nearly Rs. 14 crores have been spent. The metro railway construction is poised to carry out much more work to expend upto Rs. 19 crores in 1979-80 and thereafter, for balance 3 years of the 6th Five-Year Plan it would expect to work up to a total sum of Rs. 119 crores, spending thereby a major share out of Rs. 125 crores allocated in the draft 6th Plan of the Planning Commission. In this connection the allocation of only Rs. 16 crores for 1979-80 is only to be regretted.

Metro Railway will have trials with the rolling stock now on order initially with two prototype trains of 8 coaches each from 1981 onwards covering over 150,000 kms in a year and a half to prove the durability of equip-

ments and the safety standards of the new technologies that are going to be in the rolling stock. After the trials and instrumentation are successfully carried out commercial operation can start within a matter of two years provided the Integral Coach Factory, Madras, supplies the balance requirement of coaches. Thus, it holds out a promise for ensuring that the tube railway comes into reality within a few years provided adequate funds are not denied.

Questions have been raised and rightly so that the U-Railway will not solve the total problem of transportation for Calcutta. But, as has happened all over the world, construction of tube railway never ends. Once people and Government realise its immense advantage new lines are ordered. For example, in Hong Kong, although they started with 16 Kms, they are already ordering the next phase. The total plan which has been submitted to the government of India by Metro Railway Construction Authorities includes after the construction of Dum Dum—Tollygunj, section: (1) an extension from Tollygunge upto Garia station, which will be an elevated portion along Tolly's Nulla covering 8 Kms; (2) from Sector V of Salt Lake City to Ramrajatala (17 kms)—this line will pass through Sealdah and Howrah also under the river Hooghly and (3) Dakshineswar to Thakurpukur (26.7 kms).

In all, therefore the system of Metro railway which is envisaged is not that Dum Dum to Tollygunge can be an end in itself. Rather it is only the beginning and it is felt that 70 kms as has been planned should be constructed. In Washington they had started the system of nearly 80 miles since 1967. They built only 4.5 miles and opened it to traffic by March, 1976. They are continuing to build. Therefore, tube railway is a continuing process and generally is funded by

Citizens themselves who buy bonds when loans are floated. Surely, such a loan floated either in Calcutta or in Bombay will get paid up in no time.

The problem of Calcutta, though apparently it seems to be one of transportation, is in actuality much deeper. If one were to watch the CMDA has been doing effectively over many years one would realise that every digging operation is to cater to a requirement related to increase in population, whether it is telephone lines or electric cables or it is for gas pipes, water mains or sewerage, it is to meet a new increased requirement. In the process an old asset which perhaps, could have lasted much longer is thrown out and replaced by new ones. There is an inherent loss involved in so doing in addition to the total cost of putting in the new thing. If such funds could be spent for creating a new city to function as a counter magnet there would be a total solution to the problem involved. Because in that case the city's utilities would only need to be maintained and not to cater to increasing needs of larger and larger number of inhabitants.

Calcutta's population since 1921 within the city precincts has increased from 1.02 million regularly to 3.15 million by 1971 and in the Calcutta Metropolitan District from 2.25 million in 1921 to 7.03 million in 1971 and now it is stated to be about 8.2 million. In contrast most major cities of the world have seen reduction in population. For example the core of city of London had a population of 4.397 million in 1931 which came down to only 2.145 million by 1971. Including the outer ring the population of Greater London, which was 8.216 million in 1931 also came down to 7.452 million in 1971. This process of population reduction takes place as natural consequence of rapid transit system whether by rail or by road, built in

such a manner as to cater to large densities of people moving in short time to new locations. Thus, London has developed nearly 32 boroughs but the population of each borough is now varying from about 136,000 to 330,000. Each is a city by itself but as a "neighbourhood complex connected with London by rapid transit but separated by a green belt that maintains the environmental situation. London has grown so large that its diameter itself is nearly 70 kms. On the other hand, Calcutta has been constrained to grow within very narrow precincts bounded as it has been since Job Charnock's time, by the river Hooghly on the west, the Maratha Ditch on the north and the later construction of railway lines from the north to south and from Ballygunge to Budge Budge. These railway embankments have been like the Great Wall of China, determining the growth of the city in a healthy manner.

In the circumstances, it is seen that there is a great practical possibility of building a new Calcutta City with the help of the present Rapid Transit System being put in. Delhi would have been worse than Calcutta had it not been for Mr. Lutyens who planned New Delhi and allowed for growth over a prolonged period of time. Even Bombay has thought in advance and acquired 86,000 acres east of Thana Creek and is now thinking of connecting the island with the island by a bridge across the creek which may even cost nearly Rs. 70 crores. We now want nothing more than an extension from Dum Dum as an elevated system into the area which is now between Barrackpore and Baraset ending with a circle so that people may go straight out at a high speed and going round the circle get down at numerous points to reach new sectors that can be built to form a total city. A new city of about 9 km in diameter can easily be located encompassing an area which will be larger than the central city of Calcutta within

the confines outlined earlier. This larger city will be immensely larger than the Salt Lake City or Vaishnabpur-Patuli which cannot claim to become countermagnets for Calcutta. On the other hand, this large area even now not hankered after by businessmen or industrialists because of lack of facilities, is presently being exploited by brick manufacturers. The distance between Barrackpore and Baraset is 15 kms. Therefore, leaving out 3 kms on either end a complete circle can be drawn to enclose nearly 20,000 acres and the new line can go around the heart of this circle also in a concentric smaller circle of diameter of about 3 kms. This will provide for a central area within the elevated line where even a new secretariat building for West Bengal can be built facing the east leaving out a large circular maidan. Around this circular maidan there can be located any number of business houses and banks. Around this core, three kilometres in diameter, there would be one 150 meters wide green belt and through this green belt will be located the elevated extension of the Rapid Transit System now being built with a terminus at Dum Dum. Aesthetic landscaping will hide whatever ugliness there can be in such an elevated structure and noise also would be absorbed. In the outer circle around the elevated line and all round the green belt there will be many sectors. Each residential sector will be replete with schools, colleges, market places, hospitals etc. In the sectors at the west near Barrackpore will be located large warehouses and industries. A new bridge across river Hooghly will connect the city straightaway with the main line and the Howrah-Burdwan Chord of Eastern Railway. There will also be a road link with the Grand Trunk Road. To connect rest of India with the new Calcutta City there will be no congestion to puncture through. Further the New Capital area of West Bengal

will be looking northwards to the rest of the State so that neglect that has been shown by successive governments of West Bengal to the rural areas of this State would not continue. In fact, it may humbly be requested to the citizens of Calcutta not to go out to cities of the west but instead to go north to Murshidabad, to Kashimbazar and to Berhampur and enjoy the pleasure of the beautiful river and West Bengal's countryside extending right upto Malda across the river Ganga and thereafter reach for the grandeur of the Himalayas.

Last, but not the least, the West Bengal's capital has always been in the north, whether it was of the powerful Pal dynasty or of the weaker Sen dynasty of the later Nawabs. Calcutta was built in swamps essentially because the British had to flee the power of Marhattas and Nawabs' forces if they were to carry on with their commerce. Their only means of strength lay in the British armada. They looked on the river Hooghly as England has for ever looked on the English Channel for isolation and protection. Calcutta will no longer be isolated.

Many brows would be raised regarding finance. Acquisition of land will cost about Rs. 30 crores, and development of the city a further Rs. 400 crores but resale of developed lands even at half the prices of Calcutta will fetch over Rs. 800 crores. It will be a self financing city which will permit of resettlement of the evicted persons and jobs for a hundred thousand.

If Calcutta has at all to be saved and redeemed, if the city of places has to be retained the pressure of population must have to go down. A New Calcutta City may ensure this as nothing else can.—"Calcutta Municipal Gazette."

Peace Programme For All

By Y. Kuritsyn, Novosti Special Correspondent

The threat of a nuclear war is the biggest

danger facing mankind at the present time. This danger is increased by the arms race and the world tensions created by aggressive imperialist circles. Combating this danger remains the chief aspect of Soviet foreign policy. The USSR is ready to oppose war together with all nations and democratic and peace-loving forces.

This was stated by the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, at the 26th Soviet Communist Party Congress, which opened in Moscow on February 23, 1981.

In recent years, noted Leonid Brezhnev, the USSR advanced numerous initiatives on major international issues. Many of them were approved in resolutions by the United Nations. All Soviet proposals remain in force, and the USSR will be working for putting them into practice. But the present-day world situation calls for fresh efforts by the nations. In this connection Leonid Brezhnev set forth some new considerations aimed at strengthening security and averting conflicts threatening universal peace.

First of all, this concerns the measures which would make it possible to retain the present military and strategic equilibrium between East and West. The USSR also considers it possible to spread to other areas of the world the European practice of mutual warning of military exercises which may cause concern of the neighbouring states: troop movements, manoeuvres and the like.

It is especially significant that the states concerned take joint efforts to prevent differences in relations between them from growing into open conflicts. There are quite a few explosive situations on the planet. Attempts are now being made to revive and unite those who were quality of annihilating half of Kampuchea's population. Intrigues are being staged over Afghanistan, Chad and El Salvador. Imperialism's military machine moves to new areas, in particular,

Africa, creating new seats of tension. The Persian Gulf, Southern Africa and the Middle East remain the mainpoints of contradictions.

The USSR believes that peace in these hot spots can be ensured only on the basis of international accords, taking into account the lawful interests of all parties concerned, first of all, the local nations, and without any intervention in their internal affairs. Therefore, the USSR resolutely speaks in favour of the earliest possible end of the Iraq-Iran war and a political settlement of the conflict.

The USSR also resolutely rejects attempts to approach the Mideast settlement from the position of the anti-Arab separate conspiracy between America, Israel and Egypt. It is an urgent need to return to a collective search for a comprehensive settlement, say, within the framework of a special international conference. The USSR is ready to actively cooperate in this cause and do all for ensuring just and stable peace in the Middle East and security and sovereignty of all states in the region.

The USSR believes that a stable situation can be created by joint efforts in the Persian Gulf area. For this it is necessary to abandon the false version of the "Soviet threat" to the local oil resources and routes of their supply, eliminate the war danger there and sign an international agreement guaranteeing the sovereign rights of the countries of the region and the security of communications connecting them with the rest of the world.

The USSR, underlined Leonid Brezhnev, welcomes all initiatives by other states

aimed at strengthening peace and weakening war danger. Thus, it backs the proposal to declare, on a par with Latin America, also Africa and the Middle East non-nuclear zones and set up peace zones in Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and other areas, including Europe, if their inhabitants wish this.

There are also other possible ways of improving the international situation. In the USSR's opinion, it would be useful to convene a special session of the security Council with the participation of top leaders of its member-states and other countries, if they wish so. If well organised, such a session would make it possible for all nations, big and small, to contribute to creating an atmosphere of peace and cooperation.

As before, the USSR believes that the principles and practice of peaceful coexistence exert definite influence on the development of international life. Therefore, it will continue to use all possibilities for improving relations with capitalist powers and the policy of consolidating the socialist community. The USSR will also continue to develop cooperation with liberated countries and strengthen the alliance of world socialism and the national liberation movement.

The report by the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee gives a reasonable and logical analysis of the events and reflects the profound conviction in the just cause, which the USSR is struggling for.

Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

BUDGETARY CONTROL SYSTEM

Dr. J. K. MITTAL & Prof. L. N. MAHESHWRI

Budgetary control is a system used by management as a tool for planning and controlling production, sales and related activities. Without proper planning the budgetary control system will not work. A well defined plan indicates the objectives and targets to be achieved, enables measurement of actual performance and, if required, timely corrective action. Hence the budgetary control system helps the management carry out its functions efficiently and effectively.

The main functions of management are (i) planning, (ii) organising, (iii) directing and (iv) controlling. Of these the first and the last—planning and controlling—when translated into figures indicating money, hours, units etc. formulate budgetary control system.

Planning is the first and most basic function. It is deciding in advance what to do, how to do, when to do and who is to do, etc. It bridges the gap between where we are and where we want to go. It makes things to occur the way the manager wants. Without planning things are left to chance. Thus planning helps in controlling actions. Unplanned actions, naturally, cannot be controlled.

The purpose of every plan is to contribute positively towards accomplishment of pre-set objectives. The main objective of a business entity is to optimise profits. Plans have, therefore, to be designed for efficient use of available resources so that the main objective be accomplished.

The managerial function of control is the measurement of the performance of

subordinates and to correct any deviations in order to make sure that business objectives and plans devised to attain them are accomplished. Control, therefore, implies existence of goals and plans and no manager can exercise control without them. He cannot even know if his department is operating in the desired way unless he has a plan.

Preventive controls or forward-looking controls as they are called, are the best. They anticipate the likely deviations and take care of them well in advance. Thus, there are inbuilt checks in plans. The next best controls detect the deviations as they occur and thus enable timely corrective actions. The basic control process involves three steps—(i) establishing standards, (ii) measuring performance against these standards and (iii) correcting deviations from standards and plans.

Budgeting means formulations of plans for a given future period in numerical terms. As such budgets are statements of anticipated results in financial terms as in revenue and expense and capital budgets or in non-financial terms—as in budgets for direct labour hours, materials or units of production.

The numerical statements are then divided or broken up into different components consistent with the organisational structure. This reduction of plans into definite numbers and components forces a manager to see clearly how much capital he has to spend, who should be responsible for incurring different expenses, or bringing in revenues or different items of inputs or outputs. Having ascertained this he

can more freely delegate the authority to implement the plan within the limits of his budget. Thus budgets bring in orderliness and enable the management to delegate authority without losing control.

It should now be clear that budget is actually a device which enables a manager to effectively exercise control, measure performance, and then take corrective action as may be necessary. It helps the middle level or shop level managers to understand clearly as to what is expected of them by the management and do their jobs efficiently. Through his budgets, the shop level manager can also make known to the top management his requirements of men, machines and materials for accomplishing pre-set objectives.

If budgetary controls are to work well, managers must remember that they are designed only as tools and not to replace management, that they have limitations and must be tailored to suit each job. Moreover they are tools of all managers and not that of the budget manager alone.

The best effective budget making and its administration must receive not only whole-hearted support from top management, but also from managers expected to administer and live with the budgets. Each managers should participate in the preparation of the budgets of his department.

One of the keys to make budgeting work, is to develop standards by which the manager's work can be translated into needs for manpower, operating expenses and capital expenditure etc. Moreover by concentrating on resources required for accomplishing a planned job, a manager can base his request on what he needs to have for meeting output goals and improving performance. He no longer need fear arbitrary across the board budget cuts.

Lastly, preparation of budgets provides managers and opportunity for forward think-

ing, thus minimising chances of facing sudden problems.

As stated earlier, the main objective of budgeting is evolving a yard-stick for the manager with which actual performance could be measured. If this yard-stick is just based on past performance with some adjustments here and there, it would amount to perpetuating the inefficiencies of the past, if any. Though this method cannot be said to be totally wrong, yet the manager's efficiency and effectiveness depend upon how he performs. Naturally there has to be rethinking at the budget preparation stage. If possible new standards for material, labour over-heads etc. be established and efforts be made to reduce the different costs. The targets should be fixed at a level which can be attained with drive and determined effort and should have an element of challenge.

Preparation of budget estimates should start from the lowest rung of management ladder i.e. from the supervisor's level. They should be encouraged to prepare their own budget estimates. These estimates should be discussed with the manager of their department and modified if necessary and then compiled and submitted to the budget department. Such a step gets commitment from the shop-level managers.

Budget estimates have to be prepared to cover almost all the important segments, sales, production, materials, personnel, operating expenses, capital expenditure and cash etc.

The sales estimates are concerned with probable sales—physical quantities and values. They are prepared by the sales department in consultation with the dealers, salesmen taking into account the market trends.

Production estimate is an essential part of the budgetary control system. Without it, there can be no coordination of sales and production efforts. The production department has to study sales estimates and then

prepare a production estimate, taking into account the different constraints like capacity, possible increase in capacity during the budget period and capabilities of the available personnel.

When a production plan has been approved by the management, budgets relating to material usage, procurement, etc. are prepared. They take into account the quantities of different materials required per piece, the materials available in the stock, the procurement time and purchase price etc.

While preparing budget estimates for personnel, the total strength should be broken down by category. Total payment including incentive bonus, over-time should be ascertained. Amounts should be provided for increments. Additional personnel requirements should be shown category-wise. Estimates should be based on objective considerations and if required, justification be given. Details regarding the period of such requirement, the costs involved therein etc. should be separately incorporated in such budgets.

For operating budgets current data on expenses ordinarily forms the basis. In preparing these estimates the aim should be reduction of expenses per unit of production.

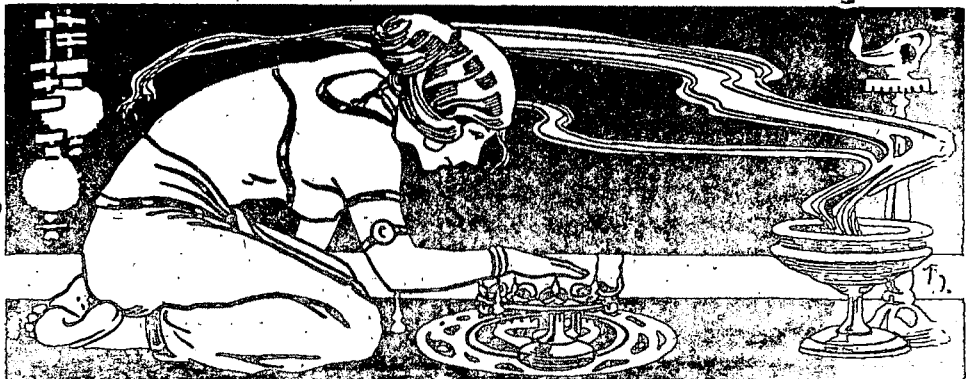
While preparing the capital expenditure budget, care should be taken to see that

expenditure for a project should be kept at the minimum. In respect of plant and equipment, estimates should include all costs upto the point of installation. If additional working capital is required, it should be estimated. Care should be taken to estimate initial expenses on training of workers, spoilage and the like. Then discounted cash flows should be used to estimate the profitability of the venture

Once the various budgets are prepared, they are scrutinised and then approved by the budget committee and the top-management as the case may be. After this the budget department should prepare projections of monthly or quarterly profit and loss accounts, balance sheets and cash flow statements. This would bring out needs for external financing, if any. It will then be the responsibility of the management to tap the different sources.

If the managers prepare their budget estimates after careful consideration, keeping in view the over-all objectives of the company, they should rest assured that their estimates would be readily accepted. It would be their committed responsibility to carry out their jobs assigned to them efficiently within the budgets sanctioned.

* Both are faculty members in BITS, Pilani (Rajasthan)



PRIVATE EDUCATION IN INDIA

AMIYA KUMAR MUKHERJEE

It is mainly due to lack of sufficient number of schools and colleges that many of our students can not have any opportunity to get admission into the educational institutions. Poverty also puts a great barrier to their institutional education. Besides, many students can not get admission into schools and colleges on account of their engagements in offices, factories and such other organisations. Under such circumstances, encouragement to private or non-collegiate education should be treated as very essential, and all possible help should be given by the Government and the educational authorities to the private candidates so that education may have a real progress.

But in our country a quite different type of attitude of the Government and the educational authorities is experienced by the private students. Instead of giving any help to the private students, the educational authorities show a hostile attitude to them as if they are most undesirable in the boundaries of education. Most of the private candidates are made to fail in the examinations because the educational authorities feel that those students, who do not get admission to the schools and colleges and fail to listen to the valuable lecture of the teachers and professors, are quite unfit for a success.

Truly speaking the teachers and examiners never feel any sympathy for the helpless students who unfortunately can not get admission into the educational institutions to listen to and utilise the valuable lectures of the teachers and professors. They neither realise nor want to realise as to how much adverse

situation is faced by the private students. These poor and unfortunate students neither get any opportunity to listen to the valuable lectures of the teachers and professors nor have any good notes and suggestions for their studies. No appreciable help is received by them from any corner and as a matter of fact they are to go through their books in their own capacity. Although our Government and the educational authorities always beat their drums of propaganda in respect of the progress of education made by them, but in the true sense they have hardly made any progress to encourage the education which is a vital need of the people. Sufficient schools and colleges are not available; postal tuitions are not arranged; educational lectures and discussions for the students are not broadcast regularly through radio and television which are mainly used for music, theatre, film-show, and vacant propagandas. Books are not readily available in the open market on account of the brutal games of the black-marketeers who are encouraged by our Government directly or indirectly.

Besides, there are other difficulties also which are no less harmful to the private students. It is the scarcity of electrical power and fuel which puts a great hindrance to the studies of the private students in particular. Many private students are employed in offices and factories and they hardly get any time to go through their studies in the day time, whereas in the night also it is not possible for them to open their books on account of electrical load-shedding as also for the scarcity of Kerosene oil in the market.

In spite of so many adversities the private students make their attempts to appear at the examinations. But our educational authorities are not ready to show their least sympathy for the private candidates and rather they make plans to get the private candidates failed in the examinations. A few examples will illustrate the point. The University of Calcutta has made a rule in respect of the M.A. Examinations and according to that rule while the collegiate students may have facility to complete the examination in two parts (four papers in each part) to be held in two consecutive years, the private candidates can not have this facility and they must appear in all the eight papers in the same year. Besides, the educational authorities change the syllabus in their own accord of which no information is received by the private candidates and they face great difficulties in the examination hall when they find questions set from the chapters or books beyond their syllabus. As for an example, the syllabus for the M.A. Modern History (Paper I) for 1977 covered the period from 1757 A.D. to 1837 A.D. but the questions ranged the period upto 1858 A.D. To the collegiate students this change in syllabus did not create any difficulty because they received information in time but to the private candidates it was really a bolt from the blue.

It is indeed a matter of great regret that neither the Government nor the big educationists have any feeling to understand all these points and they never hesitate to show their naked attitude of hostility towards the private students. So far as the collegiate students are concerned, the examiners sometimes become lenient to some extent to give them at least pass marks; but they are not at all ready to show any kind of leniency in examining the papers of the private candidates. I know a gentleman who had a great ambition for higher education, but owing to acute

poverty and hardship of his family which occurred on account of the untimely death of his father, the gentleman could not proceed further with his studies in his young age. But he all along cherished an ambition in his mind for higher education. At last, when he became as old as nearly fifty years of age, he appeared as a private candidate at the M.A. Examination in English of 1976 (held in 1978) of the Calcutta University in spite of so many adversities. He answered the question papers more or less satisfactorily. But when the results came out, it was found that the old man, who started again his academic life at the instance of his great and noble ambition, was declared "failed" only for want of 2 marks in Paper II and 2 marks in Paper VII although in other papers he secured appreciable marks like 47, 44, 43 per cent etc., which are not easily available in the literature subjects. When the candidate approached the university authorities for a review of his papers II and VII, he was told that the question of review did not arise because he failed in two papers instead of one paper. It may be mentioned here that most of the private candidates are made to fail in more than one papers for want of one or two marks so that the question of review of papers may not arise. Furthermore the University has made rules stating that the review of paper can not be done if the unsuccessful candidate secures less than 45% marks in the aggregate although the aggregate pass mark is 40%.

These are the reasons that make it very prominent that the private candidates are intentionally awarded "failure" by the examiners and the so called facility of private examination is nothing more than a bluff. The University seems to have a very good business-plan for earning money from the poor students through the so called facility of private examination and thousands of private

candidates are deceived every year at the cost of their fruitless ambition for education.

There may, of course, have instruction of the Government to the educational authorities to make the percentage of the successful candidates as low as they can on account of unemployment problem, but the question remains, if the Government neither give any job to the young generation nor give them any opportunity to remain engaged in education and studies, then what the young generation will pull on with?

We often come across big propagandas on the Government's encouraging policy of education. But do the aforesaid instances indicate any true encouragement to education? Is it a progressive attitude of the educational authorities to get the private students failed for want of only 2 or 4 marks and put an end to their studies—particularly when the Government and the educational authorities are more responsible for the deficiencies of the students? In an advanced age like that of ours when books are not available in the market, when no postal tuition or educational broadcast

through radio and television is arranged, when neither electricity nor kerosene oil is available for the studies of the private students in the night, is it not a disgrace on the part of the Government and the examiners to get the students failed at their own discretion?

It is high time for the Government and the educational authorities to understand the need and reality of education and work sincerely for its progress in the true sense. A basic change in the very idea, thought and process of education is badly essential today. Leaving the businesslike attitude of earning money from the students and getting them failed in the examinations, our Government and the educational authorities must bring their hearts out of darkness and extend their helping hands with enthusiasm and sympathy to encourage the students—collegiate, as well as non-collegiate (private)—and uphold the banner of education, as otherwise, the train of their vacant propagandas would, instead of serving any true purpose, revert the whole system of education to a farce and frustration.



BANDUNG AND THE NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT

MIRZA IBRAGIMOV

The Bandung Conference, held in mid-April 25 years ago, has become an important landmark in the history of the national liberation struggle and the progressive movement of Afro-Asian peoples for the attainment of political and economic independence and genuine sovereignty.

The political leaders and statesmen from 29 countries who assembled in the small Indonesian town of Bandung in April 1955, worked out ideas and principles which later on greatly promoted the unity and cohesion of the progressive forces of the two continents, the consolidation of the peoples' struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and all kinds of imperialist and reactiona intrigues. That is precisely why there is every reason to say that Bandung has laid a solid foundation for non-alignment, an authoritative and representative movement of our day.

The principles which were first formulated in Bandung have preserved their full vitality and topicality to this day. Bandung was an expression of the objective historical tendency towards the cohesion of the freedom—and peace—loving forces, which resolutely came out against colonialism and all kinds of national and racial oppression, against imperialism's aggressive policy, for genuine independence, lasting peace and security.

The historic importance of the Bandung conference lies also in the fact that, as Jawaharlal Nehru aptly put it, it marked the entrance of more than half of the population of the world into the international political arena. Indeed, it was in Bandung that the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism first

found themselves opposed by an organized front of national forces of Afro-Asian states, which objectively became part of the world anti-imperialist front. That was precisely why this historic event was met in the West with hostility and undisguised malice. The very idea of holding the Bandung conference aroused a sharply negative reaction among the ruling circles of the United States, Britain and other imperialist states, who made overt and covert attempts to wreck it.

In this connection it would be opportune to recall the hideous explosion set off in the plane carrying part of the delegates to Bandung and the remark by former US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on the "immoral" nature of non-alignment. Nevertheless, the intrigues of the reactionary forces suffered a failure: the conference over-came all difficulties and successfully completed its work by unanimously adopting the declaration on world peace and cooperation which went down in history as the Ten Principles of Bandung.

Proclaiming India a non-aligned state in 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru said the following truly prophetic words: "I have no doubt that very soon.....the world will consider this position as justified...and many smaller countries which are now somewhat helpless, will probably prefer to follow India's example in such matters..." All the events that occurred since that time are an excellent proof of the correctness of these words. While the first non-aligned conference in 1961 was attended by 25 countries, at the 6th conference, held in Havana in 1979, the number of members of the movement had already gone up to 95.

The progressive development of non-alignment has never suited the forces of imperialism and Maoism. The Chinese leaders' political and ideological degradation, apostasy from participation in anti-imperialist struggle, and betrayal of the world national-liberation movement have brought them into one camp with imperialism both in their attitude to the platform of the Bandung Conference and to the non-aligned movement, as a whole. Peking's intrigues against the front of developing countries constitutes a serious danger while advertising itself as a developing country, the PRC leadership goes out of its way to try to "tag on" to the non-aligned movement. In following its hegemonistic strivings, Peking is at least of all interested in strengthening the unity of non-alignment. Its true aim is to emasculate and destroy the anti-imperialist foundation of the movement, to subordinate it to its dictate and to set the developing countries against the socialist states.

China's approach to international problems runs counter to the position of the non-aligned countries, including on problems, such as the struggle for international detente and disarmament... Peking's stand differs from that of the developing countries also as far as military blocs and bases are concerned. The Maoists support NATO, call for a revival of CENTO and SEATO, and openly come out for the preservation of US military bases and armed forces in Asia.

The ideas of Bandung and the principles of positive neutrality, on which the anti-imperialist platform of the non-aligned movement is based, have gained wide acceptance in the newly independent countries because they go against the attempts of the imperialist powers to draw the former colonial countries into the orbit of their geopolitical plans and to force them to follow in the van of their aggressive policy.

In the 25 years that have passed since the Bandung Conference, the imperialist and racist forces repeatedly tried to impose various military blocs and groupings upon the independent states, to build military bases on their territories, provoked clashes between different countries, and became involved in many-year-long bloody adventures in a bid to strangle the peoples' independence and freedom.

Realizing the danger of the imperialist plans and seeing, sometimes even from their own experience that these plans would bring them nothing but grief, irreparable sacrifices and big material losses, the young independent states have been ever more actively joining non-alignment which has become a form of their anti-imperialist struggle.

In their struggle against forces of imperialism and reaction, the Asian, African and Latin American states resolutely uphold their national interests and come out ever more actively and consistently for universal and lasting peace, for stronger stability and international security, jointly oppose imperialist dictate, and work for the establishment of equitable economic relations. This was precisely what Gamal Abdel Nasser bore in mind when he said in Bandung that "peace means not merely the absence of war, it calls for active, consistent efforts to create a climate of international stability, economic development and social justice."

And now that the winds of "cold war" have again begun to blow in the world through the fault of the American politicians and strategists when military circles are again taking to the course of the arms race, of undermining the policy of detente, progressive forces on all the continent condemn these imperialist actions as extremely dangerous and call upon the world public to resolutely rally their efforts to extensively and actively counter-act these schemes.

The vital interests of all peoples and particularly in Asia and Africa, and the interests of universal peace and international security imperatively call for resolute action to wreck imperialism new aggressive intrigues and hegemonistic schemes in Africa, the Near and Middle East, South and South-East Asia, the Indian Ocean and other parts of the world.

The tireless and solidary struggle of all progressive, peace-loving forces is an indispensable condition for the preservation of peace and the security of peoples and an alternative to imperialism's dangerous adventures.

Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR
Consulate General in Calcutta.

AT YOUR APPEARANCE

I REMEMBER

MANAS BAKSAI

Things I promised to do—

but undone yet

eyes full of love I alighted

not yet fructifying

And all that I could, promise or praise

to save me from the retrieving splatterings

across not my loved ones, although

I had occasion

to give you the best of what I could then

and that ; as you remind me today

to retrace—my remembrance, is not all

but in you, Signs of a Lost phrase, rise

once again,

THE TIME HAS CHANGED

VINCENT SOLOMON

I asked a birdie what is love
 Love is a song chirped the bird.
 And a lovely, merry song she sang.
 A song indeed is my love—
 The mother to her toddler said.
 Love is mad advised the old,
 With tattered clothes and shattered looks
 Roaming in the streets of life
 With drowned hopes and joys lost $\frac{1}{2}$
 Love really is very bad.
 Love is an angry bull, you know.
 With pointed horns and hardest hoofs.
 With bloody eyes & burning breath—
 Marching towards an unknown prey.
 But now I hear the birds shout,
 HER song is lost.
 Tears in the eyes of hungry calf
 The bull has found his mate at last.
 Love is lost.
 There is no song, but
 Cries. OH
 The times have changed,
 Haven't they ?

MY SOUL'S PLEA

T. VASUDEVA REDDY

Please do not awaken me
 my dear, I am asleep
 If you stir me
 You cannot stop me
 I shall be as uncontrollable
 as shall be as Bengal
 Do not remove the ashes
 lest the embers of my soul
 should sparkle and blaze forth
 You cannot put out the spark
 the flame will spread
 and envelope your feeble body
 I am the eclipsed sun
 and the moth near the lamp.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

AT THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

Soviet Industry: Priority To Consumer Goods

By Gleb Spiridonov,

APN Special Correspondent

Discussing various problems linked with the improvement of the people's well-being, the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communists, which is being held in Moscow, gives highest priority to the production of consumer goods. In the report to the Congress General Secretary to the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev has stressed that expanding the production and quality of consumer goods and developing the service sphere hold the central place in the Party's efforts to boost the peoples welfare.

In this connection the draft plan of the USSR's socio-economic development for the next five years provides for the accelerated development of the industry producing consumer goods. The rate of its development will exceed the growth rate of the heavy industry.

It is well known that during many five-year-plan periods the Soviet heavy industry—the foundation of the entire socialist economy—developed at a higher rate compared with the industry producing consumer goods. This was a natural and necessary process, because it is impossible to erect a stable building without a reliable foundation. As a result, a powerful economic potential has been built in the Soviet Union which can now accomplish the greatest

and most complicated tasks, first of all the tasks linked with improving the peoples well being.

A sharp turn was made in this area in the 1970s. The growth rates of the two basic groups of industry came closer together. The output of consumer goods doubled as against the previous decade. Mass production of goods, which had earlier been in shortest supply or even had not been seen on the Soviet market, was mastered. TV sets, refrigerators, washing machines and many other up-to-date household appliances have become deeply rooted in the everyday life of the Soviet families. The Soviet people's clothes and diet have immensely improved and the sphere of services for the population has considerably widened.

But the failure to fulfil the plan targets for the output of some products, the insufficient attention to the improvement of their quality, finish and range, and some shortcomings in the sphere of service and trade create certain difficulties in meeting the growing demand on the part of the population. This is being discussed at the Party Congress. The Congress in setting the aim of establishing a truly up-to-date production of consumer goods and services for the population, meeting the people's requirements.

To this end it is planned to fit the light industry with up-to-date equipment and to improve its supply with raw and other materials. It is suggested to sizably upgrade the equipment of the communal-service

establishments. It is planned to put massive capital investments in the modernisation of the branches producing consumer goods already in this year—the first year of the Eleventh Five-Year-Plan period. The investments in machine-building for the light and food industries are to increase by 19.6 per cent. The construction of some large enterprises will be completed and new capacities will be put into operation in the light, meat, dairy, flour-grinding and other industries that produce consumer goods.

In the Soviet Union great role in the development of the production of consumer goods is assigned to the branches of the heavy industry, including the defence industry. At present they account for more than half of the non-food consumer goods. In the current five-year period enhanced assignments are set to these industries in the sphere of the growth of the output of consumer goods, first of all cultural and household goods, and of the improvement of their quality. Great hopes in this respect are placed on the modern chemical industry—a young but prospering Soviet industry.

Last but not least, a vast field of activity in resolving this problem is given to the local Soviets of people's Deputies. Their initiative and the fuller use of the local resources are of great importance for improving the production and sale of industrial goods and for developing the service sphere. Suffice it to say that due to the initiative of the local Soviets in Azerbaijan the output of consumer goods there increased by 60 per cent in the past five-year period.

110th Birth Anniversary Of V. I.

(Raja Mahendra Pratap's Reminiscences About His Meeting With Lenin)

By L. Mitrokhin

Once I came across a November issue of 1967, of the Indian newspaper World Federation. My attention was attracted by an article of Raja Mahendra Pratap printed on the first page. The author of the article wrote that he hailed the 50th anniversary of the Red Revolution, that he cooperated with Red Russia and was lucky to meet Lenin in the Kremlin in 1919, and that he introduced Mr. Surits, the Soviet Ambassador, to Emir Ammanullah and contributed to the conclusion of a friendly treaty between Russia and Afghanistan.

The long life of this man (he died at the age of 93 in 1979) was full of interesting events, dangers and meetings with various politicians in many countries.

In 1906 he joined the Indian National Congress and in December 1914 left India. He could not know at that time that he would be able to return only on August 9, 1946 after long wanderings in Europe, Asia and Africa.

I met Raja on many occasions, but best of all I remember my first visit to his house in Dehra Dun. Amiable and hospitable, with the amazingly keen mind for his age, Mahendra Pratap shared his reminiscences about Lenin and young Soviet Russia.

In October 1917 a socialist revolution took place in Russia. Soviet Russia openly supported the struggle of all the oppressed peoples in the East.

News of the revolution, Raja said, were spreading in the eastern countries at lightning speed. People everywhere spoke about socialism, Bolsheviks and Lenin. The main

slogans of the revolution impressed me immensely and I immediately sent a letter to the Emir of Afghanistan informing him about my intention to go to Russia. And at last the day came when I was officially invited to Petrograd, the centre of the revolution.

The trip was really eventful, Raja continued. War was raging all over the country. Foreign invaders and counter-revolutionaries tried to strangle the revolution. We had to change our route many times. Yet we managed to reach Petrograd in a comparatively short period of time.

Petrograd impressed Raja by its business-like rhythm: meetings were held everywhere, life changed before one's eyes, transformations which took years in the past were made in a matter of days or months.

During his second visit to Soviet Russia in the summer of 1919 Raja Mahendra Pratap was received in the Kremlin by Lenin.

Here is what Raja Mahendra Pratap told me about this meeting:

"Once Professor Voznesensky from the People's Commissariat Of Foreign Affairs rang me up and asked me to send him booklets I had published. I sent him my books, including 'The Religion of Love,' by special delivery. At that time I did not know that the books were meant for Lenin. Later the Professor called at my place and said that tomorrow Lenin would receive us. He accompanied us to the Kremlin. Together with me were Maulana Barkatullah, Maulvi Abdur Rab, M. Acharya, Dalip Singh Gill, and Ibrahim, the servant of Barkatullah.

"At last we arrived in the Kremlin."

Raja quickly got to his feet. His eyes were sparkling, when he thought about the events that took place 50 years ago.

"I shall show you how all this was taking

place," he said. "We were led into a rather big room. I was the first to enter it. Lenin sat at his desk, facing us. He was working. At seeing us he stood up, glanced at us, quickly went to the corner of the room left to his desk, took a light chair and put it next to him. He did it so quickly that we hardly had time to enter the room and come up to his desk.

"Lenin invited us to sit down. I stood nearer to him and could not decide at once whether I should take an armchair or a chair which he had put next to him. After a minute's hesitation I sat down on the chair. My companions seated themselves in armchairs.

"Lenin asked me in English what language we would prefer—German, English, French or Russian.

I answered: 'your English is excellent. Let us speak English.'

"When I presented Lenin with my book 'The Religion Of Love' he looked at the title and said that he had already read this book and that it was Tolstoyism. I understood that Lenin had been given my books which I sent the day before to Professor Voznesensky. Apparently Lenin read them at night.

"Lenin warmly talked with us, asking everyone one or two questions.

"It is difficult to recall now all the details of the talk. I remember, however, that we told the Soviet Premier that our aim was to free India."

Raja sat down and fell to thinking.

"I cannot help admiring him," Raja said, "His energy, sincerity, humaneness and simplicity of his attitude to people regardless of their position or nationality. He was the leader of millions and has entered the history of mankind for ever. The world outlook and

intellect of this man was really amazing. My meeting with Lenin produced a great impression on me and I shall remember it all my life".

Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

Creating A New Alliance

Yu. Elovlenko

Pakistani President Zia-Ul-Haq has returned from his eight-day trip to six Middle East countries—Kuwait, Turkey, Jordan, Qatar, Bahrain and Oman.

The head of the Pakistani Military Administration went there shortly before the Third Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Moslem Countries which is to open in Mecca on January 25. Complicated back-stage activities preceded the conference and it is reported that the trip of the Pakistani President will hardly promote the constructive work of the conference. Thus, at a new conference at Kuwait Zia-Ul-Haq said that he was against Afghanistan's participation in the Mecca conference, attacked the legitimate government of Afghanistan, and "sided with the Afghan rebels in Pakistan".

The trip of the Pakistani President has another important aspect. Hatching the plans of forming a new military alliance in South West Asia, the Washington strategists have made Zia-Ul-Haq the pusher of their idea. Questions relating to the establishment of a military bloc to include a number of pro-US regimes in the Persian Gulf zone, specifically Oman, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia, were already discussed by Saudi Crown Prince Fadh and the Pakistani President in Islamabad in December 1980. According to Pakistani officials, these matters were also

examined in the course of the talks Zia-Ul-Haq had with Turkish leaders.

In Washington's design, Pakistan is to become the policeman of the projected alliance, while Saudi Arabia and some other reactionary regimes of the Persian Gulf are to finance the bloc's militaristic bills. Islamabad has established close military ties with Al-Riyadh. As the Daily Telegraph of Britain reported, Pakistan transferred two army brigades to Saudi Arabia to be incorporated in its armed forces. Another British newspaper, the Sunday Times, wrote the other day that Saudi Arabia offered Pakistan 800 million dollars in "aid" to develop the hydrogen bomb.

The latest trip by the Pakistani President has pointed to another thing illustrating the present-day policy of Pakistan. In Ankara, Zia-Ul-Haq found it necessary to emphasize once again his government's special relationships with Peking. Peking-Islamabad growing cooperation, primarily in the military field, gives rise to anxiety in India. Expressing his concern, Indian Foreign Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao told the press in Delhi the other day that the construction of a naval base by China near Karachi is part and parcel of the moves to expand this cooperation.

The results of the trip of Zia-Ul-Haq and the statements he made in the Middle East countries show that, Islamabad continues to follow in the wake of Washington and Peking which use it to promote their militaristic aims and expansionist aspirations.

Tributes To Rammohun Roy

From the Indian Messenger :—

Rammohun belongs to the lineage of India's great seers who age after age have

appeared in the arena of our history with the message of Eternal Man.

—Rabindranath

Raja Rammohun Roy was the greatest personality in Bengal at the beginning of the 19th century—and one whom we may regard as the representative of the most advanced political thinking of the time...Rammohun assailed the strongest part of the citadel of Hindu religion and society. He opposed the worship of images of gods and goddesses, denounced sati, polygamy and abuses of the caste system, favoured remarriage of Hindu widows, and set at naught the prohibition of crossing the sea by his voyage to England. By these successive shocks he galvanized the dormant Hindu society and set in motion that liberalism in thought and action which has enabled it to shake off the fetters of ages.

—Ramesh Chandra Majumdar.

The great credit of Raja Rammohun Roy lies in the fact that he embodied in his own persons, to a pre-eminent degree, all these qualities of head and heart, which are usually associated with western ideas imparted by English education in Bengal. A rational approach to religious and social ideas unfettered by superstitions, prejudices and conventions, love of liberty, wide and universal outlook, appreciation of the value and cultural potentialities of English education, without ignoring the importance of Bengali prose as a means of propagation of knowledge and ideas, a genuine anxiety to relieve the miseries of his fellow beings, particularly the women and common men, a desire to uplift the moral, material and intellectual condition of his countrymen, raise their political status, and safeguard their civil liberty and economic

interest by judicious reforms in administration,—these and many others, which were the most distinctive traits of our progress in the 19th century, all found a champion in him, and many of them flowed from him like a tiny brook, which gathered force and affluents in its onward course and swelling into a mighty river, fertilised the whole country. His gigantic figure, like a colossus, strides across the pages of 19th century history.

—Ramesh Chandra Majumdar

Rammohun Roy, an extraordinary man who ushered in a new era in the spiritual history of the ancient continent, was the first really cosmopolitan type in India. During his life of less than sixty years he assimilated all kinds of thoughts from the Himalayan myths of ancient Asia to the scientific reason of modern Europe.

—Romain Rolland

Meeting The Food-Requirement In 2000 A.D.

A. N. Bose*

The population in India may be of the order of 90 crores in the year 2000 A. D. The country and its Government have the responsibility for properly feeding the people.

During the last three decades food production in India has steadily increased. The production of cereals which was 60.6 m. tonnes in 1947 came upto 131.5 m. tonnes in 1979. The average rate of increase in cereal production at about 3% per year kept ahead of rate of increase in population by a small margin. It is a fact, however, that inspite of the large production wide-spread malnutrition occurs in the country as will be expected when nearly 50% of the people in India at present live

under poverty line. Extent of malnutrition in a population is reflected in health of the children in the population. According to the result of a survey carried out in 1977, 48% of children studied suffered from moderate to severe malnutrition. 50% of the total deaths occur below the age of 5 years. Approximately 12 lakhs children in the country die of malnutrition each year. Malnutrition may be explained due to ; (1) lack of purchasing power preventing a large section of people from buying the necessary amount of food although food is available in the country and (2) food supply is qualitatively unbalanced because of large shortage in the type of food which supply protein, vitamins and other essential constituents of food. It is also to be noted that unfavourable weather conditions for consecutive 2 years or more as occurred in 1971-73 period, may cause large scale starvation due to decrease in production of food cereals even by a few percentages. Hence the future strategy of meeting the food demands of the people should be based on (1) increasing food production both quantitatively and qualitatively, (2) stabilising food production so that production does not suffer from major fluctuations yearwise or regionwise and (3) making the food available within the purchasing power of the people.

Increasing production from land based agriculture have till now been achieved partly by bringing more land under plough and partly by improving the yield per hectare. There is, however, very little scope for bringing any additional land under cultivation. In fact deforestation to acquire agricultural land has already brought down the forest area to a level that is already having severe adverse ecological effects. Further production from land in future will be primarily by improving per acre yield.

Increasing yield per unit of land will require a co-ordinated efforts in which the application of existing knowledge and information, adaptive research as well as basic and applied research have important roles. The so-called 'Green revolution' which transformed India from a chronic (food) deficit country to one with a surplus stock of food grains is the result of such efforts. It has also created problems and offered lessons which have to be carefully considered to meet the challenges of the food production in year 2000 A.D.

One of the agents which has been mainly responsible for the higher agricultural production is the introduction of high-yielding varieties of crops. There are certain indications that many of the high-yielding varieties have nearly reached the genetic-potential as regards yield although judicious application of pesticides, fertilizers and water together with proper soil and crop management may give greater yield in such cases where optimization of inputs and management have not been achieved. However, a new breakthrough is necessary for developing crops like wheat with higher genetic yield-potential.

Genetic improvement in nutritive quality particularly from the point of view of protein content of cereals and tubers which form staple food for the people should be an important area of research. However, as improvement in nutritive quality is often accompanied by lowering of yield a balance has to be struck to produce maximum amount of vegetable protein per hectare.

Water is increasingly becoming a scarce commodity and optimum use of water available for irrigation is one of the major task in

agricultural production. Wastage of water through unnecessary application, faulty irrigation system, loss by seepage and transpiration etc. are to be reduced.

Conservation and management of soil is another important requirement in view of the limited amount of land available and extent of damage already done to soil reducing its productivity due to soil erosion, waterlogging, faulty agricultural practices, etc. There is also need for scientific soil survey.

Effective pest control has been one of the important contributory factor in increasing agricultural production. In India, pest control has been mainly a corrective measure, the control measures being applied when the crop is attacked by a particular pest. Development of pest resistant varieties has been effective in many cases but there is need for efficient pest-attack-prediction system and for early preventive measure. In this area regional and international cooperation should be aimed at.

Fish is one of the sources of protein which does not require land for its sustenance. Per capita consumption of fish at about 2.8 Kg per year in India is one of the lowest amongst the maritime countries in the world. To meet the estimated demand about 5 m. tonnes of fish in the year 2000 A. D. the present production of about 2 m. tonnes has to be increased nearly three-fold, a task which by all measures is a difficult one. The increased supply has to come mainly from marine sources although there is much scope for increasing the present production by only about 0.6 m. tonnes from inland water resources. Marine fishing is capital intensive not only because of high cost of crafts and gears but it also requires continuous scientific support in location and exploitation of fish grounds in studying fishery dynamics, and fish behaviour and in

improving fishing methods.

... ..

It has been proved through experience gathered in many countries that applications of the research results in agriculture at the farmers' level depend on their compatibility with socio-economic condition in rural areas and policy of Government on such matters as creation of infra-structure on credit facilities, transportation, supply of inputs as also on measures on land reform, rural education and health etc. Many a time, the farmers have lost in their attempts to adopt better scientific techniques and management because financial support for procuring the essential inputs has not been available in time. Besides, the small size of farms is an impediment to better water and soil management as also in matters like pest control. While there are upper land ceilings, there is no lower land ceiling—a size of the land below which modern agriculture is not productive. Inheritance laws will reduce the size of the land below the optimum level particularly in a populated country like India. Marketing of products have often created bottlenecks in agricultural products.

It should be clear that food production requires integrated approach in which not only science and technology but socio-economic policies and political thinking of the Government will play an important part. In the ultimate analysis the commitment of the government in how to feed and what to feed will determine the balance between food production and demand.

—“Science and Culture”

Buddhist Statuettes In Bulgaria

Recently the Bulgarian public had the opportunity of a meeting with the art of the

Sri Lanka people through the exposition Buddhist Pictures and Statuettes from Sri Lanka. Links between our geographically remote countries are now beginning to develop and the exhibition is just a forerunner of the real possibilities for cultural cooperation.

By Vladimir Svintila

Until recently four Buddhist statuettes were known in Bulgaria, discovered in chance excavations: the Vidin statuette (found in the village of Vinarovo, NW Bulgaria), the ones of Razgrad and Pleven (N Bulgaria) and a statuette of Ganesha found in the vicinity of Sofia. Not long ago we heard of another statuette of Buddha unearthed in the suburbs of Sliven, (S Bulgaria).

The Buddhist statuettes discovered in Bulgaria possess some specific feature which set them apart from the familiar types of Buddhist sculpture.

The Buddha of Vidin is dressed as a Christian prelate. There is not the usual 'Ussinisa' semispherical swelling on Buddha's skull. Only the pedestal with stylized lotuses and the gesture of the hands have been preserved from the classical Buddhist iconography.

The Buddha of Pleven has some complex peculiarities. It is sitting in a Lotus posture on a two-step fretwork throne with a fretwork crown on its head. It has two braids emerging from under the crown. Two notches stand for eyes: the traditional "almond shape" has been abandoned.

The mouth is slightly open and discloses the upper teeth. This also untypical of all known kinds of Buddhist sculpture.

The Buddha of Razgrad is in a clearly expressed Lotus pose. The pedestal on which it sits has no lotus frieze which is a gross departure from Buddhist iconography. Downwards there follows a three-step fretwork

pedestal with a scene presenting Buddha between two gaping lions. The plasticity and symbolism of the scene seem to be related to the dawn of Buddhist art in India.

Ganesha of Sofia is not devoid of some peculiarities. Although made of marble, it is fretwork in appearance which proves that it has been copied from a bronze original. There is something like a crown on its head. A vague ornament surrounds the head and shoulders.

The Sliven Buddha is identical with the classical iconographic types. But there are some obvious "barbaric" elements: notches for eyes, and screwlike shape of the head swelling. The search for perfect symmetry in the arms is another thing one could note.

As a whole the statuettes are characterized by their barbaric style and their peculiar primitive appearance in principle inadmissible in Buddhist art, which knows no national folk style primitivism.

Disputes are still going on about the origin of the statuettes. Some think they were imported from somewhere. But to prove this it is necessary to indicate, a place in Asia where similar specimens have been found.

It is more probable that the Buddhist statuettes were made in Bulgaria. The many inadmissible deviations from the Buddhist canon testify to this. They were made between the 10th and the 19th century. The fact that so far Buddhist statuettes have been discovered only in what was Khan Omourtag's Bulgaria is also significant. All leads to the conclusion that they were made during the First Bulgarian Kingdom and are related to the Proto-Bulgarian invasion of the Balkans.

—"News from Bulgaria"

Slave Trading and Calcutta

Achal Bhattacharyya

When a human being is considered as the personal property of his master who have the right to sell him like any other of his household goods, we can say that the person is the slave of his master. Now the question is how a man becomes a slave? It was a long practice in India, to sell the boys and girls by the poor parents, specially at the time of famine and drought, just to earn some money to save themselves from starvation. The famous Murshid Kuli Khan was an example of such type of selling, whose Brahmin father had sold him in exchange of some food.

Secondly, there were instances of converting a human being into a slave by force. Amongst the European Nations the Portuguese first touched the holy water of the Ganges for the furtherance of their trade and commerce. But they had failed in this respect in competition with the French and the English. So they had tried to become rich by slave trading. They used to procure by force men, women and children from the riverside villages of Howrah with the intention of selling them elsewhere. Sometimes they had took the help of agents for procuring slaves of both sex from the villages. In page 19 of his book "An account of Howrah past and present," wrote Mr. C. N. Banerji, one time Deputy Magistrate of Howrah—"Slavery was in vogue in Howrah. Public advertisements appeared in those days giving a minute description of the boy and girl to be sold or bought and I remember an old lady, still living, speaking of the slave girls she had bought on different times when she lived in Howrah.....The difficulty arose from the simple fact of its being an institution of old standing introduced into the country by the Mahomedans encouraged

by the Dutch and prized by the Portuguese, who were actively engaged with the Mugs in carrying off people of both sex forcibly. There depredations were at their height during 1760-1770. During 1770 they came close to Howrah and the alarm was so great that an iron chain had to be thrown across the river to stop them."

It is needless to mention that the English and French were also tempted to earn something from this trade. The British East India Company had charged Rs. 4.25 per slave on purchase and sale. In French territory stamp paper to be used for this purpose cost Rs. 1.25, and ad valorem duty was 5% per slave.

Conversion of a human being into slave with the help of law had been invented by the British East India Company at Calcutta. In 1772 Mr. Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General of British India, had introduced a new law, according to which, all members of the family of a dacoit who had been sentenced for capital punishment were considered as slaves and then Government could sell them in the open market at any time. By the same Government another law had been enacted for selling the long term prisoners in St. Helena Island. Once the company had sent ten Indian slaves to St. Helena out of which five women had committed suicide and thereby caused a substantial pecuniary loss to the company.

In the year 1785, Mr. H. M. S. Herwitch came to India from England via Cape of Good Hope, where he had found—"Indian slaves were preferred by slave dealers. The work afield and in the house is performed by Malay slaves brought from Batavia of a treacherous cruel disposition often (Tho well treated) murdering their masters, mistress etc. But the slaves, if they must have, may be procured from the coast of Malabar, Colomondo, Bengal etc. of a mild and when well used, a

faithful disposition although not so capable of labour."

There were big slave markets at Calcutta as well as at Chandaannagore, Hoogli, Chinsurah and Serampur. These markets were used to hold at 3 P. M. of a particular day in every week, but the purchasers generally had assembled in the market place long before in order to get more opportunities to pick and choose the slaves. Sellers, for a colourful display of their commodities, dressed the slaves in different type of clothes and thus tried to attract the attention of the purchasers.

In those days, every year approximately ten thousand slaves were imported and twenty thousand slaves were exported from Calcutta. "It should also be remembered that in many instances boys of twelve and thirteen have been shipped as men and that they are expected on their arrival to do the work of men; that is to work for ten hours from sunrise to sunset, with two hours of relief during the day."—Friends of India—7th June, 1838.

Slaves of both sex were generally purchased from the indigent Hindu or Hindustanee mothers; a young girl would bring according to her age and usefulness from Rs. 19 to Rs. 100/—. During famine and drought the agents used to buy from the villages women and children whose guardians sold them as any other household articles to save themselves from starvation. These children and women were carried by boat and stored in Calcutta from where they were sent to the different English Colonies of Indian Ocean.

In 1785, Sir William James, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, had remarked—"Hardly a man or woman exists in a corner of this populous town, who hath not at least one slave child either purchased at a trifling price or saved for a life that seldom

fails to be miserable. Many of you I presume have seen large boats filled with such children coming down the river for open sale in Calcutta."

After much criticism the East India Company had imposed a ban on slave export in 1789. But due to the slackness in administration the trade was being carried out as usual. The British Civilian Mr. L. S. O' Malley in his book, "History of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa under British Rule" had concluded this episode as under—"The first antislavery measure was passed in 1811, when the importation of slaves from foreign countries was prohibited. In 1832 the purchase and sale of slaves brought from one district to another was made a penal offence, and this was followed up in 1843 by removing claims to slaves from the jurisdiction of the civil courts. The slave trade was finally prohibited by the Indian Penal Code in 1860."

Savl Water On The Planet For People :

A total of 25,000 people die every day in the world from diseases caused by drinking polluted water. Some 50 percent of hospital patients on our planet are suffering from infectious diseases transmitted through water. These and many other medico-biological aspects of water affecting people's health were discussed at a special plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly.

The world forum considered it to be its duty to proclaim 1981-1990 the International Decade of Preserving Drinking Water and Improving Sanitary Conditions. It was also decided that in 1982 UN experts will try to answer the question: can modern man hold out against the threat of ecological crisis?

"Of course, he can," Gennadi Sidorenko, Member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and Director of the Institute of General and Communal Hygiene, told APN commentator Vladimir Arsenyev. "This can be achieved," he added "if all the countries approach this problem seriously."

Q. What is the attitude of the USSR, which accounts for one fifth of the world's industrial output, towards solving this problem?

A. The Soviet Union takes seriously the aims outlined in the resolution of the UN General Assembly and it has been participating for a long time in international environmental protection programmes. According to UN experts the ecological situation in the USSR is much better than in most industrial countries. For example, the air, river water, lakes and seas, as well as soils in the industrial districts of the Soviet Union are over 100 per cent purer, as far as chemical contamination is concerned, than in similar districts in the USA," said Academician G. Sidorenko.

"In the first place, this is so because environmental protection in our country was made a state policy long ago. Soviet specialists were the first in the world to scientifically substantiate the concept of establishing the sanitary norms of admissible levels of harmful factors of chemical, biological and physical origin. The state sanitary legislation today codifies the maximum admissible norms for over 800 chemical compounds and their combinations that can contaminate water reservoirs. State standards for the quality of drinking water are being continuously made more strict and expanded. In the countries which strictly observe these norms, there are practically no diseases caused by water."

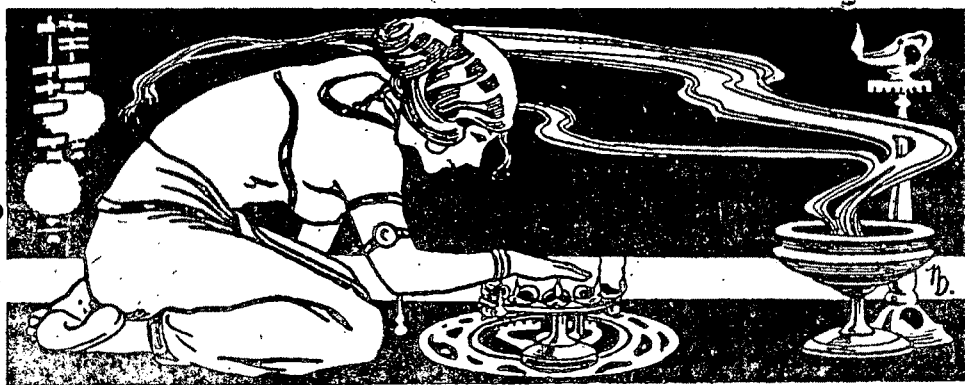
The policy today is to make industrial enterprises use most of their purified drainage water, that is, to move to a closed cycle of water supply. This considerably reduces, and sometimes even fully rules out, the pollution of reservoirs by industrial drainage water. Today more than 60 per cent of the water consumed by the country's industrial plants is reusable. The average consumption of circulating water throughout the country is expected to be brought to 90 per cent by 1990. To achieve this, the state sanitary service has been invested with extensive powers, including closing down plants which pollute the environment.

In keeping with governmental decisions the USSR had earlier carried out measures to prevent the pollution of such "hard-working" rivers as the Volga, the Urals, the Dnieper and Lake Baikal. All these regional problems have lately been joined into a nationwide problem. In 1979-1980 the state allocated from its budget 11,000 million roubles for environmental protection, and these are only direct expenses.

"Despite all this," Academician Gennadi Sidorenko said in conclusion, "the protection of water sources cannot be considered ideal today. Of course, the pollution level is being steadily reduced but the rapidly developing processes of urbanisation and industrialisation give rise to new problems which are sometimes very acute. It should be stressed that in many cases environmental problems cannot be solved by one country. Soviet scientists believe that all the components of the man-society-nature system can function normally only by taking into account not only the national but also the world-wide consequences of man's interference in this system."

Hence the urgent need for wide-scale international cooperation, for pooling the economic and scientific-technical potentials of different states to protect the biosphere as a whole, hence the importance of discussing today the problem of preserving drinking water at the UN General Assembly. This is a new step towards solving the most acute

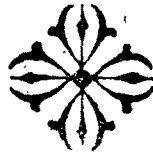
problem of the century for mankind which bears responsibility for the coming generations. Soviet scientists, who have always greatly contributed to solving this problem both in the advanced and in the developing countries, are ready to cooperate with greater vigour on bilateral as well as multilateral bases.



Founded by : RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER



1979

Vol. CXXXXIII No. 5

Whole No. 864

NOTES

Trade Unionism—What is and what is not

The peoples of the world who live in an organised manner by developing all types of societies, associations, clubs, panchayets, religious, cultural, political and all sorts of other kinds of bodies with various aims, objects and purposes ; have normally clearly defined ends which the constituents do not lose sight of nor deviate from. Human societies thus have numerous professions, cults, corporate bodies and organisations in which many men and women cooperate to achieve different objectives which they usually state in a clear manner. Trade Unions are organisations of workers which are formed for fixing wage rates and for securing advantageous terms and conditions of service by collective bargaining with the employers. Basically Trade Unions have the fundamental objective

of collective bargaining and whatever else they may do this basic objective is never lost sight of by the worker members. Trade Unions have to remember their basic purpose which is collective bargaining ; but most of these unions have involvements of a political nature. The trouble is that political connections never remain free from other side attachments and trade unions never always get mixed up with all sorts of non-economic contacts which do not have any trade union purpose. And whenever trade union purposes come into the picture, the other demands lose strength in a manner that leaves all doubts clearly in a strong position. In such clearly doubt-free circumstances one does not have any doubts as to one's line of action. One has to bring into action all contacts that can be mobilised and with these new contacts go into action in force to set about creating making the contacts active in full and strong manner. As far as we can judge things our actions always have been active and fully strong at all times. At the present moment we are at all times conscious of our responsibilities and our actions are at all times trying to follow up the lines of action that we find laid out before us. Things are at no time clearly as people like them to be but if the important persons take an interest in the affairs of their less fortunate compatriots things develop in a manner which bring about easy conditions that are normally not found to exist in the setting which one finds present in the socio-economic lay out of India of the economic developed type.

If we look for economic development we find the same in different degree and we know that normal economic development would give us that degree of development. Deviation from these norms would be exception.

TAGORE AS A HUMANIST PHILOSOPHER

ALOK BHATTACHARYYA

Was Rabindranath Tagore a philosopher?

The debate on this question continues in the groves of academe. Philosophers may be classified into two broad groups. There is a class of philosophers who are really inspired by a spirit of search for truth and their philosophy emanates from the depths of perception. There is another tribe of philosophers who argue or reason for either supporting or controverting a philosophical doctrine or method evolved by others. How does Tagore fare in this classification of philosophers?

Admittedly, Tagore, a paradigmatic personality of this age who replaced an entire culture of a race through his creative works spread over a span of nearly sixty years, did not follow any particular philosophy of the East or the West. Nor did he seem to have formulated any philosophical doctrine by subjecting his thoughts to the cold rigours of a philosophical method. Nevertheless, it is possible for us to gather his philosophical ideas from his vast literary works. This is especially true for a creative genius who held identical views on the meaning of art and philosophy. In Tagore's own words, "when we say that art deals with truths that are personal we do not exclude philosophical ideas which are apparently abstract." His philosophical ideas are most pronounced in three collections of lectures in English, namely, 'Personality', 'Sadhana' and 'The Religion of Man' and two books in Bengali entitled 'Santiniketan' (which may aptly be called the Poet's own Upanishad) and 'Manusher Dharma' (which is not exactly the Bengali translation of 'The Religion of Man').

The fervidity in the quest for truth and the sublime height of perception as reflected in the above writings hardly leave any room for doubt that Tagore was a philosopher.

Although Tagore was basically an idealist philosopher, his idealism was not a prototype of any established philosophical theory of idealism in the West. He also did not entirely follow the Upanishadic doctrine or the theory of love and union in Vaishnavism although these oriental ideas had a profound influence on his idealistic thoughts. It was a sense of harmony between the finite and the infinite, between individual consciousness and the supreme consciousness that braced his pursuit of idealism. This idealism found a subtle expression in a mysterious feeling of what the Poet called *Jeevandevara* in the *Gitanjali* phase of his poetry. But this idealism of Tagore underwent a process of transformation having its culmination in a unique form of humanism in the twilight of his life. Like the existentialists in the west he realised the poverty of all traditional metaphysical theories when he reflected deeply on the relation between man and his universe. He also ultimately lost his faith in the concept of Reality through any philosophical system-building. In the last few years of his life he repeatedly proclaimed his belief in humanism founded on the truth of existence as perceived in the human mind. In fact, the last phase of Tagore's creative works was an affirmation of *Manavicya* or 'the truth of Man'. In a conversation with Albert Einstein he unhesitatingly declared: "If there be any truth which has no sensuous or rational relation to the human mind, it will ever remain as nothing so long as we

remain human beings." Tagore, once a philosopher of Jeevandevata, thus proselytised himself into a complete humanist.

The influence of Jeevandevata was increasingly enfeebled in Tagore's later writings. The predominant theme in the last phase of his literary works was *Moner Manush* which proved to be the *tour de force* of his humanistic philosophy. By *Moner Manush* he meant the Eternal Man, the Complete Man and the Universal Man. He could never accept the contention that man's place in the vastness of the Milky Way was inconsequential. He observed that it was illusory to think that what could be measured was greater than the immeasurable truth. The external world is measurable by perfecting human intelligence but man himself is a fathomless truth. There is nothing beyond man. He expressed these ideas very poignantly in his new testament *Manusher Dharma*: ".....My intelligence is human intelligence, my heart is human heart, my imagination is human imagination. These can never transcend the human mind as much as I may mould or purify them. What we call science is science proved by human intelligence, what we call Divine Delight. Is joy reflected in human consciousness. The Supreme Being whom we comprehend through this intelligence and joy is also human. It is quite immaterial for man whether anything beyond him exists or ceases to exist. If human freedom lies in doing away with man, then why do we exist as human beings?"

What Tagore conceived of man in his later works reminds us of the ideas of liberal and secular humanism in western thought. But Tagore's ideas on humanism have certain marks of distinction and these can never be equated with western humanism of any form. Humanist thinking in Europe, taking its clue from the materialism of the Greek philosopher Democritus, began in the seventeenth century

synchronising with the scientific movement. Liberal humanism was founded on an idea of human progress, a belief in human perfectibility and the unity of mankind, and the power of reason to utilise the forces of nature in the service of human needs and aspirations. The positivism of Auguste Comte which had a seminal influence on the development of humanist thinking in the western world in the nineteenth century contained these basic tenets of humanism. Modern secular humanists who replaced the liberal humanists of the earlier century disposed of God as a useless hypothesis and declared the existence of a self-sufficient and self-explanatory world in which man had absolute freedom to choose his own purpose. Secular humanism in the west has its chief protagonists in the evolutionary humanists and the existentialists. While the evolutionary humanists, taking up the main strand of Comte's positivism, accept scientific enquiry as the only basis of human knowledge and hold that man is now on the threshold of a new self-conscious state of the evolutionary process and capable of directing his future course in a certain definable direction, the existential humanists view the sciences as abstract and advocate a neo-philosophical doctrine resting upon individual subjectivity whose existence is prior to its essence.

Strange as it may appear, in humanist thinking the existentialists are closer to Tagore than the exponents of evolutionary humanism. Tagore's views on evolution were made amply clear in 'The Religion of Man'. He was not opposed to the scientific theory of evolution. But he refused to accept the evolutionary process as a collection of solid brute facts only. Evolution, in his view, has a meaning and a purpose which is built into the structure of being. He wrote in *Manusher Dharma* "Matter remained dumb. It could not know

the language of will. Life came and brought in its wake the message of will." He also felt that science had its limitations. "The details of reality," he observed, "must be studied in their differences by science but it can never know the character of the grand unity of the relationship pervading it which can only be realised immediately by the human spirit." Human evolution in this planet, in his view, is directed towards unfolding the consciousness of the Eternal Man. For Tagore, this consciousness of the Eternal Man is neither any supernatural or divine entity nor a supermind descending on the earth, but an extended horizon of human perception. This distinctively teleological view of man sets Tagore apart from the evolutionary humanists.

Existentialists, unlike the advocates of evolutionary humanism, refrain from pronouncing a judgement upon man. As Jean-Paul Sartre, the late French existentialist, said, "An existentialist will never take man as the end, since man is still to be determined." The existentialists are also opposed to setting up a cult of humanity after the manner of Auguste Comte. Sartre categorically refused to admit the existence of scientific truth. He commented, "The sciences are abstract; they study the variations of factors that are equally abstract and not real causality." According to the existentialists there is no other universe except the universe of human subjectivity. Existentialism places on man the entire responsibility for his existence. By responsibility the existentialists do not mean responsibility for the individual alone. A man, by choosing for himself, chooses for all men. We may recall Sartre's unforgettable dictum: "In fashioning myself I fashion man." Man, in the existentialist view, is always outside of himself and it is in projecting and pursuing transcendent aims that he makes himself exist. Existential humanism has been defined¹ as this

relation of transcendence as constitutive of man with subjectivity.

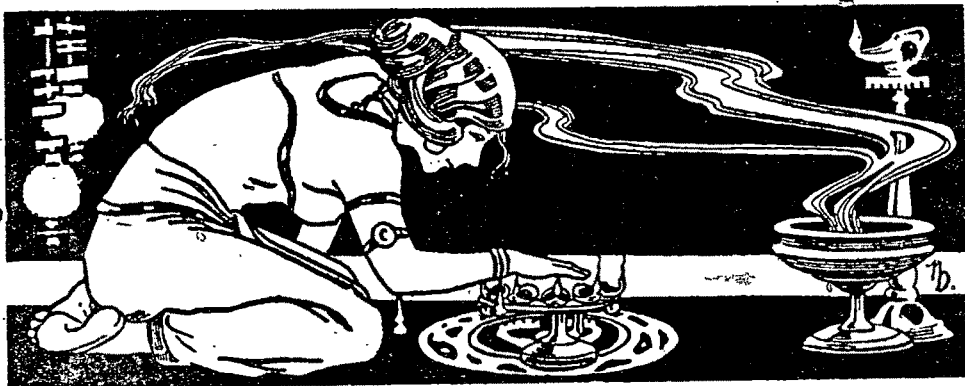
Tagore too built up his grand edifice of humanism on the foundation of human subjectivity. "I have my being, I am becoming, I move—I understand these as great events. I exist and everything exists in relation to my existence. Not a single atom or molecule of this universe can exist in separation from my existence." These words which are translations of some expressions in Tagore's autobiography *Atmaparichay* might easily have found place in Sartre's magnum opus 'Being and Nothingness'. Like Sartre, Tagore also did not mean by human subjectivity the subjectivity of the individual alone. In *Manuher Dharma* he uttered, "The responsibility of man is the responsibility of the Eternal Man." Tagore believed that there were two aspects of human energy—one associated with his nature and the other with his transcendent aims. He called this transcendental aspect of human energy the 'surplus of man.' That is why, man, in his eyes, is an 'Angel of Surplus'. Thus, terminological differences notwithstanding, both Tagore and Sartre believed in transcendence in relation with human subjectivity as the essence of their humanism.

In spite of the above striking similarity in the ideas of Tagore and Sartre on human subjectivity the humanism of Tagore is sharply different from existential humanism in some essential features. The existentialists consider separation of man from the self and the world as the foundation of all foundations of their philosophy. But the philosophical wonder inaugurated by Tagore was excited by a unique sense of harmony and unity, love and union. He declared, "We have seen that consciousness of personality begins with the feeling of the separateness from all and has its culmination in the feeling of the unity with all. It is needless to say that with the

consciousness of separation there must be consciousness of unity, for it can not exist solely by itself". This feeling of harmony brought him a world of joy and freedom saturated by the nectar of what he called *purna pran* or full life. On the other hand, the existentialists, with their feeling of separation from the self and the world, have exiled themselves in a contingent world of dreadful freedom, ruled by ennui and angst. For existentialists freedom means anguished responsibility and not *Andoddbhava Karma* (action which springs forth from joy) as conceived by Tagore. The relation of transcendence with subjectivity in the existential philosophy thus ultimately limits itself to a consciousness of despair as the condition of man's existence. Unlike existentialists Tagore could never think that man was a 'useless passion'. The awful silence of an indifferent world occasionally brought a sense of dread to the ailing Poet in his old age, but he also felt : "Nothingness, yet it is not nothingness". He never lost his faith in the eternal and incalculable man.

Tagore believed that the truth of man did

not originate at a certain point of time in the history of this universe and that the human phenomenon was not limited to man alone. He said, "The truth of Man is in the heart of eternity, the fact of it being evolved through endless ages. If Man's manifestation has round it a background of millions of lightyears, still it is his own background. He includes in himself the time, however long, that carries the process of his becoming and he is related for the very truth of his existence to all things that surround him". He had a firm conviction that the evolutionary process of the entire universe was seeking its own truth in the Eternal Man. The Eternal Man was no abstraction for him. He envisioned an advent of humanity awakened by intelligence, action, love and 'bhumananda'. The religion of man, according to him, comprises a continuous endeavour to attain this humanity. We do not encounter this vision of humanity in either evolutionary humanism founded on the tenets of naturalism personal or existentialism as a philosophy of existence. To my mind, Tagore is a brilliant philosopher of humanism who stands out most characteristically in the intellectual tumult of our time.



MYSTERIOUS HEALING POWERS OF MANTRAS

SWARNAKAMAL BHATIACHARYYA

“38. And, behold, a man of the company cried out, saying Master, I beseech thee, look upon my son : for he is my only child.

39. And, lo, a spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out ; and it teareth him that he foameth again, and bruising him hardly deperteth from him.

40. And I besought thy disciples to cast him out ; and thy could not.

41. And Jesus answering said, ‘O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you and suffer you ? Bring thy son hither.

42. And as he was yet a coming, the devil threw him down and tare him. And Jesus rebuked the unclear spirit, and healed the child and delivered him again to his father.

Thus spake Chapter 9 of St. Luke in the Holy New Testament. This not merely shows how great and mighty Lord Jesus Christ had been, but also is a proof of the powers of healing by Mantras (magic formula). In India there had been countless instances of such magic power since the Vedic age. Instances are plenty in under-developed countries of Asia, Africa, Australia and North America and they are not new in the advanced countries too. There had also been hypocracies in all countries, over-developed and under-developed with the powers of Mantric healing and the ordinary gullible people have been cheated all over the world throughout the ages. There have been attempts to peep into the inscrutable powers of the mantras where real Master employed them and to analyse them scientifically and also to experiment their efficiency and process of working. There are now many people in the world who believe in the powers of the Mantras and there are many who do not. But one thing has been accepted by the great Masters like Freud that man dies because

death wish works in him. Masters dealing with the spiritual science and the science of the mind have believe that human beings suffer due to lack of harmony with eternal principles, such as :—

(1) Man's destiny is the creation of his own thoughts.

(2) Man suffers mainly for his negative thoughts. Negative thoughts only cause diseases, sufferings, failures and unhappiness.

(3) Man's mental magnetism is modified by his positive and negative thoughts.

(4) Positive thoughts, such as, love for all creatures bring about good health, wealth and prosperity. Negative thoughts destroy others as well as the negative thinkers themselves.

So Dr. Cue of France formulated an all-purpose mantra for generating a spirit of positive thinking and creating a mood of health and well being in the mind of every one who sought his help. It was the conscious remembrance of the formula—“Every day in every way I am getting better and better.” The advocates of palmanism also have a similar formula for imbiling an optimistic attitude of mind in those who are pessimistic in nature. Their formula is “Something good is awaiting me.”

Dr. W. Layton Gaubert of the Science of Mind Centre in London has done much work in this field and recommended a good number of mantras for the cure of the suffering minds and developing the spiritual power. Some of the Mantras framed by Mme Gaubert for the purpose are cited below :—

“I give thanks for the perfection of the wholeness and for the wholeness of perfection. I give thanks for the infinite supply of this perfect substance which flows to me and through me and all peoples, effortlessly, copiously and continuously.” This mantra Mme Gaubert is sure will contribute towards a pattern of perfection in our consciousness if constantly

used.

There is no doubt fun and joy in finding ways to improve what we undertake to do. For this purpose too Mme Gaubert has a magic formula.

"Always give thanks for the good you desire" in the following manner :—

"I give thanks that I have increasing awareness of my spiritual nature and that I am conscious of Divine guidance—intuition in everything that I think and say and do. I am always in my right place at the right time, doing the right thing in perfect order."

The power of auto-suggestion has been realised by many of the modern healers of the mind. Mme Gaubert also has prescribed a process of auto-suggestions for attaining to prosperity. They are—

"I turn away from all lack-of paralysing fear of lack, limitation and confusion, from poor ideas to rich consciousness."

"I am seated in the midst of outer plenty. The produce of nature and the products of mankind material and financial wealth."

"I am surrounded by universal wholeness, perfect physical health."

"I am activated by the power of perpetual motion."

"I am aware of profound intelligence and wisdom within and all around me."

When we feel the necessity for money, more money to meet increasing demands by the family, business or professional concerns we must not bewail our poverty but concentrate on the following mantra :—

"I give thanks that I have a large, dependable steadily increasing income of money, consistent with integrity and mutual benefit, sufficient to meet all my needs before they become due, always with a substantial credit bank balance, enough to share and to spare."

"Become attuned to prosperity and prosperity will respond to you," she assured.

These mantras cannot work unless the practitioner has faith in them. What then is the most important is 'Faith' and man's faith in God is measured by his confidence in himself." The following mantra has been prescribed so that faith may be developed by one who wish for more faith :—

"I give thanks that I have faith in the Law of mind to create form from the invisible substance at the direction of spirit."

"I give thanks that I have faith in my ability as spirit to direct the law of mind by my thoughts and by my words, to create good and good only in my life and affairs, and in the life and affairs of all those who seek my help and so it is."

We become old because we do not believe that we can remain youthful and vigorous. We fall sick because we do not believe that it is possible for us to lead a perfectly healthy life. She prescribes the following mantra which we should daily practice :—

"I give thanks that I have perfect health of mind and body, perfect vision, perfect hearing, perfect circulation, assimilation and elimination of all the functions of my body. In my blood vessels, in my head, my throat my lungs, my digestive and my generative organs. In my bones my nails, my muscles, my nerves and my glands with perfect lubrication of at all joints, and it is so."

We may add 'heart' teeth etc. if we feel we should. Last but not the least is the efficacy of love. For love is the fulfilling of the law. It embraces all other laws." So Mme Gaubert lay down the following mantra for starting the day with :—

"I love and bless all the members of the household."

"I love and bless all the members of my family wherever they may be....."

"I love and bless all peoples of the world and all creation."

It rings like an echo of the Indian prayer "Sarvey Sattwa. Sukhita Bhabantu." The mantras work wonderfully. The mysteries of the powers of these positive Mantras are however yet to be unveiled.

INTRODUCING BENGALI FOLKLORE AND LITERATURE IN THE VEDIC-PURANIC BACKGROUND

KSHETRAMOHAN MUKHOPADHYAYA

SOCIO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL ASPECTS

To study Bengali Folklore and Literature in the back-drop of the Puranas and the Vedas; we feel, we need to present certain basic facts connected with social anthropology and philology related to the growth and development of the Bengali language incidental to the evolution of the Bangali tradition and culture, both rural and elite. Here, by elite, we mean the great tradition the components of which are the aboriginal and the Vedic culture, grafted together having universal connotation and appeal, and by rural or the little tradition : a primitive Dravadian Culture having a narrow local character. This little tradition coming in contact with the neighbour, the Vedic Aryans, is Sanskritized, and both mingling together they re-emerge as the great tradition. Dr. Chatterjee, writing on this point, declares that the ancient civilisation of India originated from the intermixing of two different unconnected families of speech, spoken by the two peoples, the Aryans and the Dravadians and that the synthesis of the culture of these two peoples is represented by the Hindu civilisation ; it seems probable that there were Chaldean (Sumerian as well as Semetic) and Western Asiatic, and possibly also Aegean elements in the oldest stratum of Indian Aryo-Dravadian culture.¹

The view held by B. G. Tilak in this connexion :—"Chaldean literature, as embodied in the Cuneiform inscription, which is definitely an ancient record, proves that a

people of Turanian race as far back as 5000 B. C. colonized the country at the mouth of the Euphrates, perhaps from a province in Northern Asia ; these people not only developed a civilisation of their own in Mesopotamia but what is to the point, have left there a record of their religious beliefs and culture in the form of brick inscriptions, which M. Lenormant has aptly described as the Chaldean Veda. This ancient civilisation at the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates gradually spread northwards and was the parent of the Assyrian civilisation which flourished about 2000 years before, and it was supposed that the Hindus coming in contact with the Assyrians thereafter was largely influenced culturally"²

But on this point we would stick to the declaration of Manu, who mentions of a traditional demarcation of India into two parts : Aryavarta and Dakshinavarta inhabited respectively by the Aryans and the Dravadians.

In support of our view, we would place here certain opinions, some of which are contrary to those already cited in this regard.

That the Dravadians are the original, old inhabitants of India can be established from the findings and the speculation of H. F. Hall. In 1913 Sumerologist H. R. Hall speculated from the pictures of the ancient Sumerians on the walls of Sumerian country that the modern Dravadian language speaking people has a resemblance with the Sumerians and he conjectured that the old Sumerians

might have come by sea as well as by land from the South India to the Sumerian country.³

From the above, it can be inferred that the South Indians are the ancestors of the Sumerians. We have shown in our previous chapter that the Vedic Aryans are older than the Dravadians in India on the examination of the cranial index of the skulls of the two burials.

Towards close of the 19th Century, philologist Coldwell was studying the speciality of the Dravadian languages as well as the difference of the same languages from the Indo-European Stock. From the linguistic point of view he focussed the aspects of antiquity of the Dravadian languages.⁴ In his view the Dravadian language speaking people came to India before the Indians, speaking Aryan languages.⁵ From an analysis of the old Dravadian languages, Coldwell guessed the currency of the terms: Raja (King), Caran Kavi (bard), Utsab (festival), Ain (Law), tin, dasta (Zinc), Seesa (lead), etc., in the society of the people speaking Dravadian languages.⁶

The Dravadians of India were racially connected with the aboriginal inhabitants of Australia.⁷ Hewitt also informs us elsewhere that Kwati Utl Indians are anthropologically like the Dravadians.⁸ Some are of the opinion that the Dravadian culture sprang forth from the union of a group of Aryan language speaking people with the aborigines of the Dekhin.⁹

In fact, the Indologists have obviously no firm proof as to the area or place which was the original home of the Dravadians nor as to the time when they came to India; as regards the presupposition that there had been no organized inroad of any aboriginal race into India after the coming of the Aryans, it is held by some scholars that the Dravadians preceded the Aryans in India and a section of scholars

kept hold the view, supporting Hall's statement, that the Dravadians were connected with the Sumerians.¹⁰

Some of the zealous Dravid culturists even claimed that the religion of the Rgveda Samhita is Dravadian in origin.¹¹ Such scholars even called Rgvedic Aryans as the Aryo-Dravadian.¹²

We have discussed the above point in the previous chapter of our paper and have concluded that there have been two Aryan inroads in to India and that the first group of Aryans who may have come to India and have settled are the Easterners and not the group of the North-Westerners. The latter comes later than the Easterners.

Recent discoveries seem, however, to belie these speculations; because basic studies like a list of the aboriginal tribes, their accurate census, their geographical distribution, anthropometric or ethnographic surveys, etc., were not yet attempted.¹³ This view was expressed by Sarkar in 1954; it would be wrong therefore to form any definite conclusion with regard to the aboriginal inhabitants of India.

But the problem posed by Mohenjodaro still remains unsolved. Who were the people responsible for the Harappa Culture? There have been endless speculations among scholars regarding the origin of Indian culture and after a consideration of the earlier finds the definitive epithet applied to the culture was Indus Valley Culture, subsequently designated as the Harappa Culture.

Scepticism and doubt clouded the question of the Indian character of the culture—and it had been thought to be Sumero-Indian, Irano-Indian, etc., till a joint team of the Indian and foreign scholars established beyond doubt that this early culture was truly Indian in origin and Character.¹⁴

Besides, we have cited several authorities and evidences in Chapter I of our paper to

show that the Indian culture is the earlier one and that the Sanskrit language arose in India and was not imported from outside. Hence it seems legitimate to hold that the Aryans and the Dravadians were the original inhabitants of India.

The Dravidian languages have many Indo-Aryan characteristics, borrowed at all periods from Sanskrit, Middle Indo-Aryan, and modern Indo-Aryan. And the Indo-Aryan has also borrowings from the Dravadians.¹⁵

(Middle Indo-Aryan—Prakṛta or the language of the “natural” men or of the masses, Modern Indo-Aryan grew from the substratum of the Middle Indo-Aryan between the 10th and the 12th Century A. D., Modern Indo-Aryan languages are Bengali, Hindi, Oriya, Assamese, Gujrati, Marathi, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Sindhi, etc. The earliest writers in Modern Indo-Aryan language used the popular language Abahat’tha in writing literatures.¹⁶)

There is evidence to show that all the Indian languages arose from the Indo-European (group of) languages and that they originate from the Sanskrit or the intermixture of the Sanskrit and the Dravidian languages, a fact which will be helpful in establishing our premise linguistically that the earliest dwellers in India were both the Aryans and the Dravadians. Though Grierson brings Munda into the picture, this tribe, so far as we know, has had no influence on Indian languages.

There are in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and in Pali construction—in which the first number of a compound is a participle (we think this as a verb used as an adjective Taddhitpratyaya—A+the Sanskrit root Gama+ Kṛa and not like a ‘running man’ dhabamanah Narah where the pratyaya is ‘matupa’ or ‘batupa’) and the second a noun which is not the (syntactic) subject of the participle [e. g. agata Kale—at

the time of (his) having come] as cited by Emeneau. This is all parallel to the pan-Dravidian construction in which a predication ending in an adjectivized or nominalized form of a verb is an attribute construction with a following noun :—[e. g., Kota a : m) uncvd unyp”—the thought (unyp) which we (a:m) have thought (uncvd); | is adjective form of the past-paradigm. |17 Here the comparison is somewhat farfetched—the first “thought” is not a participle and the last “thought” is a verb. And Emeneau claim that the Indo-Aryan tentatives in the direction of this construction (in all probability under Dravidian stimulus) are an Indianization, for there is nothing parallel to it elsewhere in Indo-European. This shows that the Indo-Aryan Language was not subject to any extraneous influence.

Emeneau refers to Bloch for the echo-word Construction in all the three families of languages, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Munda and draws our attention, in this connection, to his version in this regard and that of other Indian scholars in the field in 1938—echo-word is : “and the like” e. g., “puli gili”—“tigers and the like”—there are many variations, though it is notable that nearly all the Dravidian languages have “gi”.¹⁸ But it is a matter of investigation if there is the use of “gi” in the Munda language, further in Sanskrit and in the Modern Indo-Aryan the echo-word is noticed, but they are not in the sense of “and the like” as in Dravidian :—“puli gili—tigers and the like”, besides ‘pu’ and “gi” are not echoing.

In Sanskrit “Farfarayate—playing (a small-fish); “Patatpatanti—flying (a flag)—in both the cases the second words have been used in echoing sense and not in the sense of “and the like” and in Bengali also (Anukar-Savda)—echo-words, jingles :—“Jatal”—water “(here the vowel in both the cases is the same) and the second word is its echo only,

likewise: "baitai-book" here also the second word is the echo of the first word only.¹⁹

So we notice that the Sanskrit and its derivative Indian languages maintain a distinctive speciality.

LITERARY ELEMENTS, RITES AND WORSHIPS :—

This fact points to the growth and development of culture and it goes to characterise the tradition, or in other words, the synthesis of languages begets the synthesis of cultural system. Religion is the potent and effective factor in organizing this cultural system. The religion as conceived today is a pattern of existence, and the pattern of the ordinary way of life as well as the attitude to life of the "natural" people in different behavioural situations father the folkcult and the folk literature. Thus the folkcult and the folk literature of Bengal and of other regions in India grew from the synthesis of Aryo-Dravidian culture and languages as well.

With regard to the particularity of linguistic fact, Paul Thieme opines that its concern is with history that grows and continues from a unique event, unrepeatable, unless by an accident—its uniqueness is not of the individual nature—the arbitrariness is derived from society and is kept alive by social conventions.

Comparing languages therefore, means comparing social and traditional conventions, e. g. religious mythology, legal institutions, cultural patterns.²⁰

In folk literature often the gods are humanised, they are not always the gods of heaven and the deities of temples but are human beings with the qualities of gods or gods personified. "There can be no question that religion in its wider sense has been a vital part of the organization of the various Asian socio-cultural systems.....if religion seen in its broadest sense offers an approach to reality—at least to the way in which reality is

perceived by the various cultural systems developing in Asia."²¹ Spencer here speaks of a time after the spread of the Western civilisation in India and when the continental Asia was influenced by it. But in olden times, ever since the foreign invasion, by phenomenal changes, natural calamities, different trade links and the intercourse with different peoples the gods of the scriptures were invested with human attributes (while not forgoing their essential divinity) and evidently the process of change must operate within the frame work built by such conception of reality.

We have already shown in chapter two of our paper that the idea of the summum bonum of life of the vedic people took shape in the matrix of necessity—almost the entire Rgveda Samhita and the portions of the other vedas and even those of Upanisats portray a popular mode of living. The Veda idealises monogamic marriage for such marriage makes firm the conjugal love.²² Chastity and devout love are desired by the husband from the wife when the former wishes absolute love from the latter :

"Abhitwamanujatena dadhasi mama Vasasa Yatha so mama Kevala nanyasam keertayacca na."²³ A Vedic sage prays immortality through progeny.²⁴ Veda advocates cooperative living principle and unity among the members of the family as also the community prayer or worship around domestic fire.²⁵ Atharva Veda extols even an humble cot the residents of which are Rtavan (literally law abiding—whose way of living is in accordance with the standard specified therefor in the Vedas).²⁶ and such home is considered divine and poetically fancied as a lake where grows the lotus by the Vedic Sage-Poets.²⁷ For the nutritive value of the cows' milk, the cows have been held divine and have been given the position of gods like Bhaga and Indra.²⁸ The beauty of the

beasts is as much delightful to the sight as much as is the beauty in a maiden,²⁹ the above is some of the materials that constitute Vedic Rta, in modern sense, the code of conduct of living or Dharma.

"It is thus not sufficient to treat religion as an isolate. It is rather to be seen as a human institution and as a mode of thought as well both arising within a socio-cultural matrix."³⁰

Judged in the above context, folk literature of Bengal, at least a part of which is well worth attention and systematic study, has for its matrix a major portion of the Vedas and consequently the Puranas.

The Vedas and the Puranas do not always speak of the gods and men of an idealised heaven but of the mundane world as well. They are not merely concerned with principle and moral rule governing and working the "supersensuous" but the workings and actions of this world. (Thus Vedic-Puranic substratum is no spatial or temporal, but it is universal and permanent and hence it is a great tradition, at least from the historico-social point of view, inspiring the hearts of the folk in untutored and unsophisticated language even if the songs they sing in honour of their faith in uncouth melody. The subject would be considered at length with illustrative references in the concluding chapter of our thesis.

This change in the conception of religion has been brought about in a historic process, notwithstanding the fact that the process of Westernization which also works in the sphere produced some complications.

Changed milieu brings about a change in the religious outlook which is here more manifest in its physical aspect than in the region of faith and belief. Perhaps this change led Vivekananda to declare :

"You will be nearer to heaven through football than through the Geeta." Here

sincerity in religion and activity are stressed more than the ritualistic observances or practices and conventional religious emotion.

Further, Vivekananda was the pioneer to bring about a change, transforming traditional monasteries world into institutions for the service of humanity. The idea, however, has nothing to do with ancient religious practice. The emphasis on physical exercise seems clearly Western in origin, but although Vivekananda borrows, he makes the borrowings fit in and harmonize with the true conception of man as the most exalted creation—which means in Hindu sense, the omnipresence of God or in other words, God is all pervasive.

None the less, the speculation of the Rais (of the Aranyakas) emerges :— Tat twamasi—So ham or man's identity with the Supreme Being (of the Upanisat). The definitive attribute of man as the most exalted creation alone amounts to holding man as the nearest analogue to God which is clearly a Christian conception :—

Plato rationally views eternity, he says : "God wished the created world to resemble the intelligible one as far as possible. Now, it was not possible for it to be eternal, and the nearest analogue to eternity which He could provide was to make "a moving image of eternity—————"31

Our justification for bringing in all these analogies, is to bring home the process of diffusion of the Vedic-Puranic tradition into popular folkcult. In the instances cited above, it is intended to show that the ancient religious practices may have a new suit of clothes but the essential reality of the Hindu religion is not thereby eclipsed or undermined.

The major part of the folk tradition—in its rites, customs, belief, and religion as expressed orally or in writing—spontaneously—the folk

literature ; however varied, fragmentary, and scattered they may be in speculation or thought and in languages ; is a diffusion of the Vedic—Puranic tradition. We have made an attempt here below to treat briefly the process of the evolution of the Hindu tradition right from the time of the Vedas.

The folk literature of Bengal is represented by :— ballads, balladries, songs, tales. "pseudoepic". (Mangal Kavya, perhaps so far it has not been included in the folk literature of Bengal for their method of presentation, but none the less, they are exclusively meant for the folks (latties) and sung in a market place in their assembly and to their satisfaction with rāts and perhaps Sanskrit tags at times by the singers) narratives (in praise of different folk deities with which is associated or to which is appended the efficacy of listening to the Kavya sung)—Verse (in couplets, of, generally, trimetre or dimetre) and often prose as their media. (We have presented specimens of some of these Kavyas, collected mostly from the unpublished manuscripts, in the concluding chapter of our thesis). It will be wrong to secularize a fairly large part of the folk literature of Bengal having its origin in the synthesis of Vedic-Puranic and primitive religious tradition.

Apart from the highly subtle view of the Vedānta philosophy 'One without an equal', there is the mythical side which has the force of history, even when concerned with the story of divine incarnations, the ethos being intended to provide a code of conduct governing the folk-life.

"..... it can be said that India has never been oriented towards historic time, a development which can be fairly readily understood, when the other-worldly quality of the Indian ethos is considered. But on the other-hand, there is the element of myth as history, meaning that whether the concern is

for the Buddha, the God Visnu, the Puranas, or whatever, the element of the myth comes to have the force of history (we have discussed, in detail, in the previous chapter what do the time and history denote in Hindu philosophy—vide The Modern Review, November, 1978 et seq) and so to some degree to govern, if not events directly, at least the behavioural associations which precipitate events."32

At least these myths provide a rationale for behaviour—a set of rules guiding the way of life ; certain chapters of the Puranas depict the horror awaiting the wrong doer in the shape of different hells like a cinematographic montage. The Vedic people were also susceptible to the idea of sin ; in Rgveda sage Kutsa, son of the sage Angira ; apprehending evil generating from a life led disorderly or apprehending sin due to the non-observance of the Rta (or the moral law, subsequently termed as Dharma—in the later period) of the Vedas, prays fervently unto Agni to relieve us from the sin to make us realise what we are worth spiritually (though literally this portion of the Rik means : show us the way to wealth and prosperity) :—

"Apa nah Sosucadadhamagne Susugdhya-rayim Apa nah sosucadham"33

The Puranas impart moral lessons which appear to be parochial and non-historical. For they fail to have a practical application in a changed social milieu, but the lessons, never the less, provide a stimulus to an economic life in the social world.

As said before, an obvious accuracy of historical faith is not to be looked for in the Puranas—no, not even regarding other religions.

In China and the area influenced by Chinese civilisation history is used to buttress a concept of morality and, yet it evinces a little concern for the historical truth.34

We set forth the above argument, for our

avowed purpose is to establish the Vedic-Puranic tradition as the source of a considerable portion of Bengali folklore and literature—we have attempted to discern the historical spirit from the myths in the Puranas—for history has a continuity—and the history of the Purana is legendary—often fictional, yet contains a truth which is more potent than the facts of life as argued by the English critic Phillip Sydney and others.

This history of the Puranas survives in the Bengali folk literature. Notwithstanding the fact of Sectarian fragmentations, the older Puranas profess one god in the symbolic representation of the 'trio'—Visnu, Brahma, and Maheswara in nursing, creation, and annihilation—those are all the outcome of human mood according as the respective spirit of acceptance of God to what or to whom he volunteers to be committed with the like *modus operandi* of his actions of life. It has been stated by Lord Krsna in the Geeta that he bestows the spirit of devotion on a devotee for the image (aspect) the devotee choses to worship—i. e., God is the goal for any and every approach made by a devotee—like goal for the like approach :—

"Yo Yo Yam Yam tanum bhaktah,
Sradhayaarcitumicchhati Tasya tasyacatam
Sradhamtameba bidadhamyahan"

Sataya Sradhaya yuktastasyaradhana
meechate Labhate tata Kaman maiba bihitan
hitan"35

The objective side of the religion (ritual) operates within the frame work of necessity :—the offering of ghee to the fire symbolises or indicates generation of cloud, obviously the motive is fecundity, making of gifts represents equidistribution, observance of vows means the regulating of the way in life, worship of deities indicates that the worshipper is an aesthetic-ritual entails art.

To sum up our argument connected with

the mood, attitude to life of the devotees or worshippers etc., we quote Prof. Geertz :

"Every religious system, in a synchronic sense, is an end product which consists of a totality of rituals, symbols, and elements of value. This is over side of the religion,.....

.....
The formal and observable aspects of religion in Asia, or indeed in the West, can be readily described ; it is the covert aspect, the mood, the atmosphere, the essentially hidden dimension which require exposition."36

The essence of the Vedic teaching is that the world is an illusion, the only truth is the Supreme Being—One without an equal and Vis-a-Vis this teaching, when the Puranas, at least covertly, emanate Vedic tradition, a question may crop up : how are there in the Vedas and in the Puranas the magic, curing ails as well as black magic capable of doing harm, and the prescription of the performance of rituals to avert misfortunes and other Smarta Karmas or beneficial and pious acts etc. (details of all this with illustrative references are given in the following pages) ? The reason is not far to seek. These are the coordinating forces capable of organizing institution of orders and individuals—the pre-requisite for the formation of society and for the generation of norms thereof. Among the example of duties enjoined by the Vedas or the Puranas, already cited, in brief, like the observance of Vows, performance of sacrifices (offering of Ghee to fire-etc.), making gifts ; offering of oblations to the manes are a binding principle helping growth of a clan. So among Hindus the performance of the rituals and finding their reality in an impersonal cosmic conception appear to run parallel.

"It can probably be agreed that some element of supernaturalism is a basic prerequisite to any religious system in the narrower or

institutional sense. Thus the Hindu who sees the world of phenomena as illusory, who possesses as an essentially atheistic orientation, finding his reality in an impersonal cosmic. All may still perform rituals in order to avert misfortune. Parallels to this kind of behavioural situation are seen everywhere and it is here where the distinction between religion and magic, the otherworldly and this-worldly concern become hard to separate"³⁷

Folklore is a popular foundation of the cultural history of India and to study folk literature we must first stress this foundation which consists in factors or norms rooted in popular faith. Folk means of course the mass of people or their aggregation living in a friendly atmosphere, with a knowledge of a composite civilisation descending to them in unwritten or written tradition. The composite civilisation, in this context, means the urban civilisation extending to the rural world and including it as offshoot or the Vice-Versa. The aggregation is of both educated and uneducated people. The tradition spoken of is necessarily popular surviving as it does the contamination which must have, from time to time, neeavaoured to overcome its spirit. Modern socio-antropologists have attempted to classify these different traditions as urban and rural, primitive and Vedic, and also an educated and uneducated.

Bharati, while discussing the concept of Hindu religion of the Modern Indian intellectuals and the common parlance applied to expressing their views, analyses the modern jargons like modernization, universalization, Sanskritization, etc.³⁸ "For the past three decades, both Indian and Western social scientists have been making use of such terms as the 'great Tradition' versus the 'Little Tradition', as well as Hinduization, Sanskritization, Westernization, modernization, parochialism, or, indeed, parochialization as against univer-

salization. But whatever the term, the implication is always one of contrast and interaction between units of greater and lesser magnitude. On the one hand there is the village, the community in isolation, with its particular set of beliefs and customs; on the other, there is the impact of the deeply rooted historical tradition, the civilisation and its ethos."³⁹ But as Bharati explains, the difference between two sets of terms as units of greater and lesser magnitude, perhaps his explanation complicates the issue—the 'magnitude' may be both linguistic and spiritual and when either of the magnitudes is great its constituent field cannot be parochial or little; the theory or the view of Absolutism of the Vedanta philosophy, adopted by a group of a particular sect, the Baul of Bengal, may be their behavioural situation is different and the language as well, but is their View, spiritually, of lesser magnitude? Similarly has the great traditional approach of love, to the personal God Krsna which appears in the Bhagavata Purana and diffused into a little tradition in Sahajiya and Goudiya Vaisnava cult or in the Sufi cult, a lesser magnitude spiritually? This love approach to God, spiritually, has a universal philosophical appeal and has consequently a large connotation.

Little tradition appears therefore to mean a change in manner and not in the pattern of the great tradition.

".....those possessing a tribal background may assume the ways of their more respected Hindu neighbours, absorbing so much of the Hindu customs that their tribal lore becomes a part of local or regional Hindu lore.⁴⁰ Here Bharati seems to be more definite in his interpretation, because of the indelible tribal colour, the absorption of the element remains regional—here it is definitely parochial and the tradition is the little tradi-

tion.

Cohn in 1959, Gould in 1962, and Stahl in 1963 attempted at an elaboration of this point.

Sanskritization, on the otherhand, is a more complicated issue. It involves certain problems as it does not aim at the study of Sanskrit alone but at the acceptance and adoption of certain habits epitomized in the Sanskrit language, its hieratic literature, and the centuries-old practices associated with it. The practices founded on the sacredotal, Sanskritic tradition—on the patterns, in short, related to the acts of Brahmins.⁴¹

A process of traditional descent is also found operative anthropologically even in case of a group of persons, among whom a strict parochialism is maintained in respect of behaviour, custom, and locality or the area. This is the background of the establishment of a clan.

"A 'Gotra' is a patrisib with a mythical founder at its apex, usually a Rsi or a seer who recorded and reported a branch of the Veda. The Gotra is an exogamous unit; women assume their husbands' Gotra on marriage; the Gotra cuts across religious lines: Muslims and Jains as well as Christians have Gotras due to their Hindu ancestry."⁴² This is a Vedic as well as a Puranic tradition.

Karppe classifies folklore into seven groups: literary, mythological, anthropological, ritualistic, historico-geographical, Psycho-analytical, and functional, to this we add the philological aspect of it which we have already briefly discussed. Indian folklore is inseparably related to the spritual background of the Indian people and against such a backdrop the development and growth of Indian culture has taken place, and therefore to study folk literature of Bengal, a constituent part of the Indian literature, we must first reconstruct the spritual history of the Indian people with the help of whatever material available to us in our

quest for the integrating elements and the unifying force.

According to A. M. Espinosa, the components of folklore are beliefs, customs, proverbs, legends, tales, songs, riddles, magic, ceremonies, etc., of the primitive, illiterate folk as well as of the masses of civilized society. We might well ask: are not the illiterate people civilised? Perhaps by civilized, Spinoso means the sophisticated or he refers here to the people who have acquired traditional popular knowledge through experience as opposed to scientific knowledge; in the earlier chapter (vide our papers published in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, November, 1978 et. seqq.) of our paper, we have, in connection with the Chronology of the Puranas, tried to establish how ancient Vedic tradition has been evolved into popular Puranic tradition making the Puranas to the Indians popular gospels in which they can repose their faith for having reassurance of their lives and living. The epics and the Puranas.....have been influencing the life of the people throughout the centuries and are valuable as supplying materials for the critical study of such diverse subjects as religion and philosophy, folklore and ethnology, literature and sciences, history and geography, politics and sociology.⁴³

To classify or to outline a literature, the basic social conditions (particularly the socio-religious condition: because the concept of religion is ever changing, as we have discussed before, by a gradual infusion, in increasing measure, of the popular element) must be studied.

The Vedas are also a popular literature in the sense that they penetrated to all levels of society, there is no record of a pre-Vedic literature nor is there any proof of its existence (although B. G. Tilak mentions of Chaldean Vedas) and we cannot trace the origin of the Vedic tradition.

The speculation may be allowed that the tradition was acquired from nature and gained excellence by degrees in accordance with the development and refinement of the mental culture on the psychological and anthropological principle. Cox in his treatise on tradition excellently discusses this point.

Physical sensation develops into sensuality, sensuality into emotion and emotion into feeling and feeling into sensibility. When this sensibility gets sharpened, the imaginative faculty is heightened as a kind of end-product. This is perhaps the basic process of the change in the concept of religion—religion in its broadest sense.

'Rik' a Vedic term means mantras—incantations, and the earlier Mandalas of the Rgveda, Mandalas I—IX, contain mantras and stress sacrificial rites. The prosody of the mantras changes in Mandala X as well as the tone thereof though the spirit and reverence remain the same.

In Mandala X Stuti or eulogy comes into prominence and the stress is laid on gods Visnu and Rudra. Subsequently the Stuties turn to sort of songs and these songs constitute the Sama Veda. And in the eulogy the vowels are long-sounded. Here we notice the emotion is in the upper key.

The emotion is found to be in the upper key in the devotional songs of the Bauls of Bengal for in their songs the vowels are long sounded, viz., Guru go-praying unto their man-god, the Guru or the spiritual guide: in a volume or the sound measuring instrument the indicator needle, in all cases where the vowels are sounded (melodiously with emotion), will point to higher number (We feel the help of this type of instrument is a must to study the spirit and emotion of the Bengali Folk devotional songs, so far it has not been felt by any of the scholars working in this direction).

Strangways analyses the musical note of the Stuties of the Vedas⁴⁴. There is a notice of certain hymns of the nature of riddle meant to be recited in the wit combat at the end of a sacrifice in the BK.X⁴⁵ and they are the source material or the great tradition found diffused in folk riddles composed or proposed by punsters often in the form of couplets or in some form of rhymed verse in colloquial rustic (folk) language, words spelt as pronounced—spoken language generally of the villages of "Central Standard"⁴⁶ Bengal.

There are two classes of riddles current in Bengal: i) folk riddle, ii) Literary riddle. Example of the literary riddles can be found in the songs in Old Bengali book Charyya Charyya Viniscaya discovered by Pandit Hara Prasad Sastry—in these riddle-like songs, metaphors are used painting the plight of human beings, or to represent a situation in a life.

"There are two collections of riddles in Rgveda BK.X, and about a dozen dialogues; but the largest and the most interesting group are speculative pieces springing from the new religious situation—one is a hymn in praise of faith, one describes the ascetics and other deals with tapas or self-mortification, while the remainder, eleven in number, form the fountain head of Indian Philosophy"⁴⁷.

The dialogues referred to above may well be the source of Bengali 'Tarja'—a decadent form of the abstract philosophic dialogues finding purgation in exemplary mythical events and characters. It is an instance of parochialization, linguistically considered, while the spirit, colour, and tone maintain the standard of universality.

The vedic tradition attaches importance to the offering of oblations to the manes. The vedic people believe that when a pious man dies, he becomes a resident in heaven and there he lives in immortality and joy, such a man is

called Pitri (father). That a pious man becomes a resident in heaven after his death—this idea descends to the Puranas in a different form altogether. In the Puranas so many hells and the plight of the sinners there are illustrated by so many stories. In the Atharva Veda we notice mention of hells—AV. VIII. 2. 24.; VIII. 4. 3, 17 and a region called hell in AV. XII. 4. 36; II. 14. 3; V. 19. 3; VIII. 2. 24; etc.

In chapter on Religion in the Folk life of Bengal, Dr. Sur reiterates that the ire of the gods and fear of divine retribution lurk in the minds of the folk in respect of all their activities, social, domestic, and spiritual.⁴⁸

The punishment for slaughtering a Brahman's cow and for doing harm unto a Brahmana is given in AV. V. 19.

The fear of retribution would haunt the minds of the Vedic Rsis. In the following Anuvaka God is approached objectively for a relief from the sin, the present birth entails, as the result of the action of the previous birth or the sin generated from the action of the present birth. Prayer is offered unto God with the utterance of Swaha to safe guard the intrusion of enemies outraging the sanctity of the mind.⁴⁹

"Twan soma tanukrdvyo dwesobhya 'nyakrtebhya uru Yanta' si Varuthan swaha

Jusano apturajyasya Vetu Swaha'yam"⁵⁰ Rsi Brahma speaks of the supreme surveillance of the all pervasive God—nothing is beyond His knowledge, as He is omnipresent and omniscient nothing remains hidden from Him. No wrong can be done stealthily by a man as the gods are ubiquitous and all-knowing. And Varuna, the king is the (unseen) third one among the two conspiring secretly (for committing an act of sin) and Varuna watches them at their repose and watches as well their secret and normal movements :—

"Brhannesamadhithata antika Jiva pasyati

Ya stayanmanyate caranta sarva deva idam Viduh"

Yastisthati carati yacca Vancati Yon layam carati Yah prankam

Dwou Sam nisadya Yanmantrayete raja tod Veda Varunastutee'ah"⁵¹

Even the plants, trees and animals are regarded as objects of great reverence in the RV. Sage Varu, son of the sage Angira while advising to offer hymn of praise unto Indra includes the latter's horse, the symbol of strength and energy, as the objects of reverence as well.⁵² O Herbs (medicinal herbs), you parasites of the Ashwaththa tree (Ficus religiosa), located on the Palasha tree as you are kind to the patients you deserve gratitude and the gift of cows.⁵³

The trees; that are bearing fruits and those that are barren, trees that carry flowers and those without, produced by Jupiter, protect us from sin.⁵⁴ And let the herbs protect us from the sin generated from an imprecation or from the displeasure or anger of the gods, as well as from the Scepter of Yama and the Disk of Varuna.⁵⁵

The great tradition of the Puranas of allegorically presenting the code of conduct for leading lives after the Vedic injunctions, has given way in the folk tradition to the practice of directly asking pardon, for a wrong done, of a tree, of a piece of stone, of a river (supposed to be invested with divinity), and by performing simple vows, self-immolation and by an approach, inspired by the fear complex, to the images befitting the moods and attitudes or the behavioural situations.

In "Patua Sangeet"⁵⁶ or Patua Art-songs of a class of professional craftsmen of South-Western part of West Bengal (Viz, the district of Midnapore), the punishment in the hell for

different sins is depicted. The paintings bear witness to their belief in after life of a sinner—the belief has the impress of a rustic crudity which ruins and disfigures the lofty conceptions embodied in the Vedas and the Upanisads, stamped indelibly as it is by rusticism.

Quite a number of (Mantra) magical spells are found in the Rgveda. They are found in the Puranas as well—Dirghatama's blindness was cured by the utterance of a mantra. This we have referred to in Chapter I of our prolegomena.

Mantras are found in the Rgveda praising the plants for their efficacy in curing diseases (We have cited already), for overpowering the enemies⁵⁷, for turning away Raksasa⁵⁸, for scaring away the foe⁵⁹, for removing distress and poverty⁶⁰, for making the weapons of the enemy in active⁶⁰, for curing leprosy with a herb⁶¹, for curing fever⁶², for baffling the purposes or the evil of the malignant ones.⁶³ etc, etc, rain is invoked by the Vedic sages.⁶⁴

This great tradition, a deeprooted belief embodied in the Sanskrit and the Sanskritized culture of India is turned into magical couplets (or in some form of verse) in the rustic speech, usually percolating through tantrik practice. These couplets include amulets—Kataka or mantras for curing ails like the effect of snake venom, rain invoking songs, etc. as also into the black magic.

Matsya Purana prescribes means for removing drought.⁶⁵

The thief India being employed by the minister of Gouda to kidnap the child, Louson, charmed the magical incantation throwing or sprinkling particles of earth (dust) in all directions, raised by a rat, to invoke deep sleep for the dwellers of the city.⁶⁶

Each Vedic institutions can be referred to a Brahmana containing charms or spells (Mantra). These Vedic institutions are Rgveda, Samaveda

and Yajurveda. In the Brahmanical period another institution grew up to train the priests and a number of more charms or incantations were added as a result whereof a separate text book came into being which is the Atharva Veda. These Brahmanas and Aranyakas are ritualistic, and in the Upanisads they are philosophical. Aranyakas emphasize the observance of secrecy and are studied in the forest retreats of the religions away from the towns and cities.⁶⁷

This tradition of seclusion gave rise to a class of people who devoted their lives to philosophical speculation—Tapascaryya and meditation. There are references to such Sanyasis in other scriptures as well.⁶⁸ Instances are found in the Ramayana and Mahabharata.

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(to be Contidued)



JAI SINGH AND SYSTEM

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(Reprint from Modern Review of 1907)

INTRODUCTION

Hitherto I have given only translations from the Persian, placing the Mughal and Maratha accounts side by side, reserving my comments for the notes, and without breaking in upon the flow of narrative of the source-histories. But with the struggle between Jai Singh and Shivaji we reach an episode which has a wealth of historical information of the highest value. First, there is a very long account of the campaign and negotiations compiled from Mughal official reports (waqua, news-letters), given in the Alamgirnamah, a work completed in 1688 A. D. and approved by Aurangzib. Secondly, the Despatches that passed between Jai Singh in the Deccan and Aurangzib at Delhi, have been discovered by me in a Persian manuscript of the Notional Library of Paris. We have, besides, the Dilkasha and the Tarikh-I-Shivaji. Khafi Khans history, as usual, merely repeats the Alamgirnamah. It would be tiresome to the reader to go through a full translation of such extensive materials.

In this chapter, therefore, I shall depart from my previous practice and present a history in my own words, but on the basis of a digest of all these sources. The Despatches throw a full and interesting light on the ideas and position of Jai Singh, enable us to see the varying stages of the campaign as in a mirror, and help us to realise his full greatness as a master of war and diplomacy,—his foresight, self-possession, resourcefulness, and varied ability.....

JAI SINGH SENT AGAINST SHIVAJI

Among the promotions and transfers on his birthday, 30th September, 1664, Aurangzib appointed Mirza Bajah Jai Shingh to put down Shivaji. Under him were placed Dilir Khan, Daud Khan, Rajah Rai Singh Sisodia, Ihtsham Khan Shaikhzada, Qubad Khan, Rajah Sur Singh Bundela, Kirat Singh (a son of Jai Singh) Mulla Tahia Natia (A Bijapuri Noble who had come over to the Mughal), Rajah Narsingh-Gaur, Puram Mal Bundela, Zabardast Khan, Badil Bakhtiar, Barqandaz Khan and other officers, commanding in all 4,000 troopers.

After making the necessary preparations and collecting his subordinates, Jai Singh left Upper India, crossed the Narbada at India (9th January, 1665), observing the state of cultivation on the way for reporting to the Emperor. Then he pushed rapidly on southwards, never wasting a day by halting except when strong necessity compelled him. Burhanpur was reached on the 19th. Here he stayed till the 30th to put in order the baggage and property of the whole army. On the 10th February he arrived at Aurangabad where Prince Muazzam (afterwards Shah Alam I.) held court as Viceroy of the Deccan. In three days Jai Singh finished the work of waiting on the Prince, receiving and returning the visits of the local officers and nobles, and settling some points connected with his expedition. So well did he utilise his time and so expeditious was his march that, leaving Aurangabad on the 13th February* he arrived

at Puna on the 3rd March. Here he at once took over charge from Maharajah Jaswant Singh, who immediately afterwards (7th March) started for Delhi, as commanded by the Emperor.....

CHARACTER OF JAI SINGH

Jai Singh's career had been one of undimmed brilliancy from the day when he, an orphan of twelve, received his first appointment in the Mughal army (1617). Since then he had fought under the Imperial banner in every part of the empire,—from Balkh in Central Asia to Bijapur in the Deccan, from Qandahar in the West to Monghyr in the east. Hardly a year had passed during the long reign of Shah Jahan, when the Rajput prince had not seen active service somewhere and received some promotion for conspicuous merit. His marked ability had found recognition in his being given the command of the van or one of the Wings in the Mughal armies led by Princes of the blood in campaigns beyond India. Latterly he had commanded in chief. In diplomacy he had attained to a success surpassing even his victories in the field. Wherever there was difficult or delicate work to be done, the Emperor had only to turn to Jai Singh. A suave speaker, and adept in the ceremonial courtesy of the Muslims, a master of Turki and Persian. Besides Hindi and Urdu, he was an ideal leader of the composite army of Afghans and Mughals, Rajput and Poorbeahs (So says his Despatch (15, b) The Almgirnamah gives the 14th as the date (p. 887.) that followed the crescent banner of the sovereign of Delhi.

Age and experience had cooled the impetuous ardour of his youth. He had led the

forlorn hope at the striming of Mhow,—and he now used straggem in preference to force, and corruption in preference to war. His foresight and political cunning his smoothness of tongue and cool calculating self-possession, were in striking contrast with the impulsive generosity reckless daring, blunt straightforwardness, and impolitic chivalry which we are apt to associate with the word Rajput.

And now this veteran of a hundred fights donned his armour at the age sixty to crush a petty chieftain, who in less than a dozen years had grown great enough to challenge the prestige of the empire of Delhi.

CHARACTER OF SHIVAJI.

The Maratha leader was thirty seven. A countryed youth, who could not read or write, unfamiliar with courts and camps, he had yet displayed a native genius for war and diplomacy, which made him more than a match for the veteran generals and statesmen of Bijapur and Delhi. A mere jagiradar's son, and grandson of a tiller of the soil, his arm and brain had made him a Chhatrapati: he had risen to power and dignity and created a kingdom for himself almost out of nothing. And this, too, in the face of opposition from powerful enemies, the Bijapur in the east, the Mughals in the north, and the Abyssinians in the West. At last he had grown so great that his protection was sought by European traders and Indian chiefs, his alliance was bought by Bijapur and Golkonda and wistfully desired by the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan, and his hostility dreaded even by the "King of kings", who sat on the Peacock Throne of Delhi.

And he had so used his power that his name had become a byword for a wise, virtuous and benevolent ruler, one who revived the traditions of the reign of Ramachandra.

*For this sketch of Jai Singh I am indebted to the Masir-ul-umara, iii. 568, and the Drasha.)

Religion, Hinduism and Islam alike,—found its special protector in him, for in his heart there was a perennial fountain of piety which influenced all his daily acts. He sat on the throne, but looked upon himself as a mere agent or steward of the True King, his Master. For one day he had formally made over his kingdom to the saint Ramdas, and had then been commissioned by him to administer it as his vicar or representative. Thus royal power meant for him not the indulgence of personal caprice, the gratification of the lusts of the flesh, nor even the enjoyment of the world's pomp and reverence, but stern duty, austere self-control, a strict calling of himself to account. In all that he did he felt himself.

AS EVER IN HIS GREAT TASKMASTER'S EYE

He had created a powerful kingdom, the beginning of an empire. More than that, he had created a nation out of scattered and jarring elements, at a period when none else dreamt of it. He had raised his tribe out of the dust. His magic touch called forth all that was great in them, and inspired them with a heroism and self-confidence which ensured their success, till, after a century and a half, the sceptre dropped from their grasp. No wonder that they should still cherish his memory as their richest historical legacy, no wonder that his name is still.

The pillar of a people's hope,

The centre of a world's desire ;

For great as he was in his achievements, he was immeasurably greater in the possibilities which his brief career of 52 years suggested.

JAI SINGH'S POLICY AND STRATEGY.

It was with no light heart that Jai Singh set himself to the task of subduing Shivaji, against whom Bijapuris and rival Maratha chiefs, Shaista Khan and Jaswant Singh, had

toiled in vain. The Deccan had been the grave of many a reputation : and he had the failures of his predecessors before him. Shiva had already established a name for stratagem and his Mawalis had measured swords with the Mughals on more than equal terms. Then, again, there was the likelihood that the arrival of large Mughal army in the Deccan would alarm Bijapur and Golkonda and throw them into the arms of Shiva to make a common cause against the invader from the north. Jai Singh, therefore, could, not give undivided attention to the Marathas ; he had to keep an eye on Bijapur too. The problem before him was no easy one. As he himself writes to the Emperor, "not for a moment in day or night do I seek rest and ease from being busy about the task on which I have been sent." (134, a.) We see from his letters, how he employed all the devices mentioned in Hindu Nitishastras for dealing with an enemy, how wide awake, how full of many sided activity he was, how he looked far ahead and how he handled his force to cause distraction to the enemy or deal a concentrated blow at a vital point.

In view of his two enemies, Jai Singh very wisely decided to take up a position between both, i. e. in the eastern part of Shiva's dominion, whence he could also easily threaten Bijapur,—instead of pushing the war into the Western Ghats and the low lands beyond (the Tal-Kokan), which were at the same time less favourable for campaigning. So convinced was he of the wisdom of this plan that when Aurangzib wrote urging him to make a descent into the Tal-Kokan, he strongly objected, and succeeded in carrying his point. He knew that if he could strike fatally at the heart of the Maratha kingdom,—Parandhar, Lohgarh, and Rajgarh,—the distant limbs would drop down of themselves.

Secondly, he played upon the hopes and fears of Bijapur, holding forth chances of

remission or tribute and removal of the Emperor's displeasure, if the Sultan aided the Mughals and thus clearly proved his want of connexion with Shiva. Thirdly, Jai Singh arranged to distract his enemy's attention and cause diversions in different and unexpected quarters. Even before reaching Aurangabad he had sent two Europeans named Francis Mile and Dick (? Diego) Mile (or Mill) to the western coast with letters for the chiefs of the European merchants of Goa, Surat and Bombay, inviting them to help the Imperialists with their fleet and oppose Shiva, who had collected a fleet of his own (Despatches, 114,). In May he wrote to the Emperor, "now that Shiva is quite negligent and free from anxiety about the west coast, if our ships and boats from the direction of Guzarat make a sudden descent on his maritime possessions, much booty can be secured." (129. b.) His emissaries, Brahmans of Upper India, whose persons were held sacred and who, therefore, could best travel as heralds and envoys between Hindu chiefs,—were sent to the zemindars of the Karnatik, to tempt them to help the Mughals by threatening Bijapur from the east, to the Chandra Rais, the family from which Shiva had wrested the Jaoli district, and to every Maratha who bore a grudge to Shiva or envied

the sudden rise of the Bhonslas. Afzal Khan's son was given a command and the opportunity of avenging his slaughtered father. Money and promises of high rank in the Mughal service were lavishly employed against Shivaji's officers* and feudatories to corrupt their loyalty, and with some success. Two nobles, named † Rana (= Rama) and Hanuwant, natives of Supa, who had been serving the Rajah of Chanda, were secured and employed by Jai Singh as familiar from birth with the seat of the war and possessed of local influence.

Above all, Jai Singh concentrated all authority in his own hands, as the indispensable means of success in war. The Emperor had at first given him only the military command, but all administrative works, the promotion, degradation and transfer of officers, the payment of the troops [the regulation of jagirs, were to be done by the officials in far off Aurangabad under orders of the viceroy,

Prince Muazzam, Jai Singh rightly insisted that the "man on the spot" should be given this power, or the work would suffer.

"Your Majesty knows that the commander of an army must be able to appeal to the hopes and fears of his troops. After the vicereignty of Shaista Khan, inquiry in to the

* At first I had planned to march to my encampment by way of Tal-Kokan. But after arriving in this country I learnt that the king of Bijapur was in (Secret) alliance with Shiva. If I went by that path, the distance of our army from Bijapur territory would enable these two to form a firm junction, and all caution and safety would be lost. Therefore, I decided to quarter my army near Saswad, which is those to Purandhar and other tracts of Shiva's and within easy reach of Bijapur too." 66 Despatches, 117 a.

† I had sent men to invite Chandra Rai and his brother, the old zemindars of Jaoli.....with promises and passage money. Other messengers of mine went to Ambaji and Kharkuli and two other brother of his who were posted by Shiva at Purandhar to cast guns and who had 3,000.....I have written to the late Afzal Khan's son to come into Mughal pay and exact vengeance from Shiva. It is likely that some of Shiva's comrades will desert him and join us. What is your Majesty's pleasure about the mansabs and jagirs to be given to them?" (Despatches).

instalments of salaries, appointments, and transfers have been placed in the hands of the clerks at Aurangabad. Every soldier who has a business to get done has to leave the scene or war and go to that city for it. The General, who truly knows the services and muster of each officer and is the best judge of the manner in which each should be treated,—has no power to reward or punish. All matters have to be submitted to the Prince every one (as commanded by you) has to apply to him. In these circumstances I beg that, if your Majesty please, the power of transfer and change of Jagir of my subordinates, the payment or withholding of instalments of their salary in accordance with their services and muster, and the appointment and dismissal of officers, may be taken out of the hands of those clerks and given to me, and the papers of the jagirs and salaries may be sent to me. Then all soldiers, good and bad, knowing themselves in my power, will apply their hearts in right earnest to their tasks. If your Majesty does not see the way to grant this prayer, I beg that it may be kept a secret, for, if its rejection becomes public, I shall lose still more prestige.” Despatches, 119, b. 120. b. |

These arguments convinced even the suspicious Aurangzib, and, Jai Singh got full civil as well as military authority,—no small triumph. The commandants of forts Ahmadnagar and Purandara were also, at Jai Singh's request, ordered to obey his directions, to keep the prisoners and heavy baggage sent by him, and to do other things at his writing.

Then he supplied himself with one of the sinews of war, by drawing in his own name one lac of rupees from the Imperial treasury for advancing salary and help to the soldiers promptly at their need, without waiting for the slow and tedious movements of the Accounts Department. Here, again, the

general was only to follow his own discretion.

In the Konkani campaigning is impossible during the rainy season. It was already March when Jai Singh reached Puna, and if he was to do anything it must be done in the short space of the next three months. From the Despatches we learn how he utilised every day, how he struck swiftly and hard. The mariner does not scan the sky for the clouds with more anxiety than did this general for the vapoury herald of the monsoons which must stop his work and drive him into the forced inactivity of cantonments.

THE THEATRE OF WAR.

The Western Ghats form a long towering wall running north to south along the western side of the Deccan. They have thrown off a number of short spurs eastwards, every two of which enclose a valley the bed of some stream rolling east to join its sisters and form the mighty rivers of the south, the Godavari and the Krishna. Towards the east the spur ends, the valleys widen out and merge in the vast plains of the kingdom of Bijapur. This, then, almost locked among the hills is the cradle of the Maratha kingdom. Open and, therefore, vulnerable on the east, it is almost impenetrable among the jungles and hills of the west. And it is in the west that the historic forts of Shivaji are situated, almost every peak being crowned with the Maratha eagle eyrie.

Going southwards from Junnar, (some sixty miles west of Ahmadnagar), and crossing the Mughal frontier, we have first the valley of the Indrayani (containing the hill forts of Lohgarh and Tikona in the west and Chakan in the centre). Next comes the valley of the Bhima, with the city of Puna. Further south, across a long range, lies the valley of the slender brook Karha, with the cities of Saswad and Supa in the plain and the forts of Singarh

in the western hills and Purandhar on its southern rocky barrier. Beyond these hills lies the valley of the Nira with the town of Shirwal on its bank and the forts of Rajgarh and Torna in the west and Rohira in the south-west.

Puna is almost the same distance (15 miles) between Lohgarh in the north-west and Singhgarh in the south. Saswad was admirably situated for attacking Purandhar (6 miles south of it) Singhgarh and Rajgarh (18 and 24 miles in the west,) and Puna (18 miles north-west of it) while the widening plain east of it enabled cavalry to make an easy and rapid dash into Bijapur territory, or bar the path of reinforcements coming from that side. Even now five main roads meet here.

Jai Singh, therefore, with a true general's eye for the ground, made Saswad his base, Puna was strongly garrisoned. An outpost was established opposite Lohgarh to observe and blockade it and guard the road leading north to the Mughal frontier near Junir. A flying column was organised to ravage the Maratha villages embosomed among the hills to the west and south-west of Saswad. On his eastern side he was quite secure from attack; from the nature of the ground, the position of Saswad close to the boundary line between Shiva's dominion and Bijapur, and the existence of a Mughal advanced post at supa.

OUTPOSTS ESTABLISHED.

After arriving at Puna (3rd March), Jai Singh spent some days in settling the country and establishing outposts, which he regarded as the "first of the pillars supporting the work of this expedition." Qutbuddin Khan was sent with 7,000 cavalry with orders to guard the country from Junir in the north to the four of the hills (painghat) of Talkokan opposite Lohgarh, to set up one permanent outpost facing Lohgarh (to be garrisoned by

3,000 men), another facing fort Nar-durg † which is also known as Dabhar with a strong force, and other outposts to bar the paths usually followed by the enemy and to be constantly tourrig through his jurisdiction and inspecting his outposts. Ihtisham Khan with 4,000 cavalry was left to guard Puna and its surrounding district. Between Puna and Lohgarh, a distance of some 28 miles, is a difficult pass, where a guard of 2,000 cavalry was posted. Syed Abdul Aziz was appointed with 3,000 horse to hold the thanah of Shirwal and prevent aid from reaching purandhar from the south with him went Baji Chandra Bai, Ambaj + Govind Bao (zemindars of Jaoli) and Venkoji Dhangargir, who had joined the Mughals.

There was already another thanah at Supa, in charge of syed Munawwar Khan of Barha, and some other Muslim and Hindu officers.

CAMPAIGN OPENED.....MARCH ON SASWAD.

Deciding, for the reasons given above, to take up his position at Saswad and beside Purandhar, Jai Singh marched out of Puna on the 14th March.

But he had immediately afterwards to make a long halt in its environs, as news came to him that Quthbuddin had gone to Junir to escort treasure and Shiva had come to Lohgarh to make a dash into the Imperial territory as soon as Jai Singh's back would be turned to Puna. Jai Singh quickly recalled Qutbuddin to his post opposite Lohgarh to watch Shiva's movements and resumed his march on the 23rd. Loni, some † 10 miles east of Puna,

† In the Ms. the word may also be read as Tardurg or Taldurg. Not found in the map. I suppose it was Talegaon. Dabhada, at the eastern end of the ridge on which Lohgarh and Vispur stand.

was next reached; here a block house or enclosure for sheltering the troops was built in 3 days and a thanah established under Rana and Hanuwant, with 300 cavalry and 300 foot musketeers, to guard the line of communication with Puna and the two roads which led to the Imperial territory.

Arriving on the 29th March at a place one day's march short of Saswad. He sent on Dilir Khan with the vanguard and the artillery to cross the pass lying in the way, advance four miles up the hill, and then halt.

The next day† the Rajah crossed and pushed on the Dilir Khan's camp, leaving Daud Khan below the pass to see to the safe transit of the army up to noon. The rearguard were to bring the stragglers.

On this very morning (30th March) Dilir Khan went with the van to select a proper place for encampment. In this reconnaissance he approached fort Purandhar. A large body of Maratha Musketeers, who occupied an enclosure in the waist of the hill—called badi in the focal language,—now came down and attacked the Imperialists, who, however, routed them and captured the badi. The houses there were burnt and the Mughal van very boldly improved their victory by at once pushing on as near Purandhar as they could and entrenching beyond the fire of the fort.

Jai Singh on hearing of it, at once sent up 3,000 of the troops of his command under Rai Singh Rathor, Kirat Singh, Qubad Khan, Mitrasen, Indraman Bundela and other officers at a gallop. He also despatched an urgent order to Daud Khan to come to him take charge of the camp and enable the Rajah to go

to supervise the siege. But Daud Khan on hearing the news had hastened to join Dilir Khan without coming to Jai Singh.

The day was far spent; there was no high officer left to guard the camp, and so Jai Singh had to stay there perforce. He had already sent forward a party of pioneers and water-carriers, shot, powder, gun munitions, and entrenchings tools for the use of Dilir Khan.

SIEGE OF RUDRAMAL.

Next morning (31st March), Jai Singh carefully escorted the baggage to a permanent camp serving as a base, between Saswad and Purandhar, only 4 miles from the latter. Then hereconnoitred the fort from the position of Daud Khan and Kirat Singh. It was not a single-fort, but a whole hill fortified; hence to surround and closely blockade it was impossible.

He, therefore, after long meditation decided to take at all costs Rudramal (=Waj-agarh) a fort at the north-east angle of Purandhar and commanding the latter.

Dilir Khan with his nephews and Afghan troops, Hari Bhan, and Udai Bhar Gaur, entrenched between Purandhar and Rudramal. In front of him were the chief of the artillery, Turktaz Khan and the party sent by Jai Singh, Kirat Singh with the 3,000 troopers of the Rajah and a few other mansabdars made a stockade opposite the gate of Purandhar. On the right were the trenches of Rajah Farsingh Gaur, Karn Rathor, Jagat Singh of Narwar, and Syed Maqbul Alam. Behind Purandhar and facing its postern gate (khidki) was the position of Daud Khan, Rajah Jai Singh

†The Ms. reads "Tubi (or Tupi) 5 kos from Puna towards Saswad, on the hill of the fort of Purandhar." This would give some village near the Bapdeo Ghat but there is none of the name in the map. I read Loni, which is about 12 miles east of Puna in a plain.

†Jai Singh reached the camp about the midnight of 29th March, which according to the Muhammadan astronomy is considered a part of the 30th March. Hence "next day."

Rathor, Md. Salih Tarkean, Ram Singh (Hada ?), Shri Singh Rathor, Raj Singh Gaur and others. To the right of the position was that of Rasul Beg Rozbhani and his Rozbhani followers. Opposite Rudramal, Chaturbhuj Chohan with a party of Dilir Khan's followers entrenched, and behind these Mitrasen, Indraman Bundela and some others.

Jai Singh removed his quarters from the camp to the foot of the hill to be nearer the besieged fort, while the soldiers pitched their tents along the hill side. He visited the trenches every day, encouraged his men, and supervised the progress of the siege. At first all his efforts were directed to dragging guns to the top of the steep and difficult hill. It took three days to raise a gun, named Abdullah Khan, and mount it opposite Rudramal. In $3\frac{1}{2}$ days more a second gun, named Fateh Lashkar, was taken there. A third, named Haheli, was painfully approaching the summit. The incessant cannonade of the Mughals demolished the base of the tower in front, and pioneers were sent to its foot to dig a hole underneath.

At midnight 13th April, Dilir Khan's division stormed the tower, planted their banner on it, and drove the enemy into an enclosure facing the tower, leaving 7 slain and wounded behind.

The Rajah reinforced Dilir Khan with a party of his own Rajputs. The victorious Mughals now pushed on to the front of the inner fort (citadel) of Rudramal and tried to escalate it. The garrison, driven to hard straits by their fire, offered to capitulate. In the evening of the 14th April they gave up the keys, evacuated the fort and were disarmed but allowed to join Shivaji, (in order, as Jai Singh adds, to tempt the garrison of Purandhar by this example of leniency to surrender instead of making a desperate defence: The heroic leaders of the besieged were very chivalrously

given robes of honour by Dilir Khan and Jai Singh alike. The imperialists lost 80 killed and 109 wounded.

FIRE AND SWORD IN MAHARASHTRA.

The possession of Rudramal was the stepping stone to the capture of Purandhar, "the key that would unlock Purandhar," as Jai Singh wrote in his despatch. Dilir Khan now turned to the latter fort, and Jai Singh organised raids into the Maratha country, in order, as he said to convince Shiva and the Sultan of Bijapur that the Mughal army was large enough to spare troops from the siege, and also to ravage the villages of the Marathas, as they had ravaged the Mughal dominions, and to prevent their mustering round Shivaji. (133, a)

On the 25th April, a flying column was sent under Daud Khan, with Raja Rai Singh, Sharza Khan, Amar Singh handawat, Achal Singh Kachhwa (the principal officer of Jai Singh), 400 of Jai Singh's own troopers, and Imperial soldiers, numbering in all 7,000 men with orders to enter the region of Rigarh, Rohira, and Singh-Garb, from two sides, and "not to leave any vestige of cultivation and habitation but make an utter desolation." (133, b) At the same time Qutbuddin Khan and Ludhi Khan were ordered to harry the district from the north and thus distract and wear out Shivaji.

Daud Khan's party arrived near fort Rohira on the 27th and burnt and totally ruined about fifty villages. A body of Mughal skirmishers entered four populous villages hidden among the hills, which had never before been visited by an enemy reinforcement. Arriving the enemy were routed, the villages occupied and razed to the ground and many peasants, cattle and other property captured. After one day's halt there, on the 30th, the invaders marched to Rajgarh, burn-

ing the villages in they way. Without stopping to besiege the fort † (for which they were not prepared). they sacked the villages behind and before it.

The ground was hilly and uneven ; so the Mughals retreated 4 miles to a level place, near the pass of Kunjan Khora where they on camped for the night keeping good watch, and next day (1st. May) reached Shivapur. Then Daud Khan marched towards Sigh Garh (Kondana) and harried its environs, returnnig to Puna, by Jai Singh's order, on the 3rd May.

Meantime Qutbuddin Khan, in the midst of his raid in the passes of Pur-khora and Tasi-khora, near fort Kumari, was urgently recalled by Jai Singh to Puna, where he joined Daud Khan. The cause of this interruption was the Rajput general's learning that Shiva had mustered a large force near Lohgarh, which required to be immediately broken up.

The two Mughal columns were, therefore diverted to that side (the north west). Leaving Puna they halted at Chiuchwad (10 or 12 miles north) on the 4th and reached Lohgarh on the 5th. When the Mughal skirmishers arrived near the fort, 500 Maratha horse and 1,000 infantry sallied forth and attacked them. But the Imperialists held their ground, were soon reinforced, and routed the

†According to the Alamgirnamah. The Despatches give 6,000.

†The Despatches (135, a) say, "on the 29th they arrived at the foot of the fort. The front skirmishers pushed on to the gate, but none of the garrison durst come out." The alamgirnamah, on the other hand, asserts, "on the 30th they arrived, & c.....The enemy from the hill top discharged guns, muskets, and rockets. A large body of them issued from the fort and stood in line of battle on the waist of the hill, without venturing to descend farther (p. 895.)"

enemy with heavy loss after a severe fight. Then they burnt the houses on the skirts of the hill, taking many prisoners and cattle. The villages enclosed by the four forts,—Lohgarh, Visalgarh, Tikona, and Tanki—were devastated, and much of Balaghat (highlands) and Painghat (lowlands) harried. Thereafter they returned, Qutbuddin Khan and his party taking up an outpost near Puna, and Daud Khan and his comrades rejoining the main army on the 19th May after a fortnight's absence.

MARATHA EFFORTS.

Meantime the Maratha captains has not been idle, but tried hard to harass the Mughals and raise the siege. Early in April, Netaji Palkar, Shiva's son-in-law and cavalry leader, made a dash on Purainda, but a Mughal detachment from Supa hastened in pursuit, and the Maratha host melted away at the news and offered not fight. Late in May Qutbuddin Khan had to advance up to fort Urouda,† to break up a gathering of the enemy of which he had got news. The villages dispersed wherever they assembled round any of their forts. The hill of Lohgarh was scaled, and a body of Marathas on the top slain or routed, Daud Khan returning with 300 captives and nearly 3,000 cattle. Then again, a body of 300 Maratha cavalry, who were sheltering at Narkot, were dislodged by a detachment sent by Qubad Khan, the new thanahdar of Puna (vice Ihtisham Khan deceased), the victors returing with captured peasants and cattle.

But the Marathas did not invariably fail. As Jai Singh admsts, "sometimes we have failed to prevent the enemy from accomplishing their hostile designs." (136, b.) Khafi Khan is more explicit : "the surprises of the enemy,

*The Alamgirnamah gives Ur-durg, I suggest Urouda, 11 miles West of Puna. It may also have been Udai-durg.

their gallant successes, attacks on dark nights, blocking of roads and difficult passes, and burning of jungles, made it very hard for the Imperialists to move about. The Mughals lost many men and beasts." (ii. 180).

SIEGE OF PURANDHAR.

But for all that Jai Singh clung tenaciously to his plan. Dilir Khan sat down before Purandhar like grim Death, his men "doing in a day what could not be achieved elsewhere in a month."

At first, the garrison made sorties to drive back the besiegers. One night they attacked Kirat Singh, who was quite prepared and gave them a hot reception which sent them back in disappointment. Another attack on the trenches of Rasul Beg Rozbhani, on a dark night, was more successful; as he was caught napping the guns in the trenches were siezed and spiked, and Rasul Beg's followers taken by surprise, 15 being wounded. But reinforcements, attracted by the din of battle, poured in from the neighbouring trenches, and the enemy were repulsed with loss. Next day there was a sharp skirmish over the removal of the corpses, in which the Mughals lost 8 men.

Jai Singh, at the advice of siege engineers, constructed a high platform of logs and planks, on which guns were mounted and parties of musketeers and gunners placed with munitions to command the enemy's position. On the 29th May the platform was set up by the Rajputs before the white Tower (an outwork built by Shiva), in the face of prolonged and severe opposition by the garrison. Bhupat Singh (a commander of 500 under Jai Singh), some other Rajputs and one retainer of Dilir Khan were slain.

But the raised battery* did its work; the white Tower was breached and the Mughals made a lodgement at its base. But beyond it

[was the old outwork, the Black Tower, and the intervening ground was mined and stored with gunpowder, which the Marathas exploded to check the Mughal advance, but it only caused a loss of 80 of their own men. The day was far spent, and Jai Singh held back his men, entrenching at the foot of the white Tower, which the Marathas evacuated during the following night. Now the Mughals from the White Tower bombarded the Black Tower, filled up the hollow space between with stones and earth in 6 days, and raised an earthwork to command the Black Tower. This latter was breached and the enemy forced to vacate it and a third out work near it and flee into the main fort.

Purandhar now seemed doomed. And as if to complete its destruction the Emperor had at Jai Singh's request despatched a train of very large guns which were now on the way to the fort and, worse than everything else, its gallant commandant was slain. The following is the Maratha account of his end, but the Mughals are silent on the point:

Baji Prabhy, who was posted at Purandhar with 12,000 men, came down with 700 soldiers, demolished the Mughal earthworks, and most gallantly penetrated to the camp of Dilir Khan close to the entrance (deorhi) of which they slew 500 Mughals. Just then Dilir Khan advanced, crying "Bravo; a thousand times bravo I highly admire your courage and pro-

*There is a very corrupt passage in the Despatches (138, b.) which runs thus "Five towers and one battlement of wood, shelters of the enemy from the fort of Kandikala (Khadkala?) form the strong boundary (?) of the fort of Purandhar. They have been captured by us." Does it mean that these six wooden structures captured at Khadkala were brought and planted against Purandhar?

*The text has Dadaji Prabhu.

JAI SINGH AND SHIVAJI

mise you your life." Baji replied, "I am Shivaji's servant. What have I to do with your promise and assurances?" A dancing he tried to strike Dilir Khan, who however, shot him with an arrow, while his soldiers felled him with many blows. So he was slain and 300 of his heroic followers by his side; the rest retreated to the fort.

SHIVA OFFERS SUBMISSION.

This disheartened the garrison and Shiva too. The families of the Maratha officers were sheltered in Purandher, and its loss would mean their captivity and dishonour. Failure and ruin stared him in the face wherever he looked. With his usual foresight he had for some time past been sending envoys to Jai Singh to beg for terms, but the astute Rajput did not take them seriously. And now, in rith earnest Shiva sent a most trusted Brahman, Raghunath Panth Nyayashastri, surnamed Pundit Rao, with a definite offer of submission. The Rajah assured him that if he sincerely wanted to live in obedience and peace with the Emperor, he must come unarmed like an offender surrendering himself: see the Rajah, and receive his promise of pardon and safety. Shiva had no help but to yield. So, on the 11th June, 1665 he left Rajgarh with a small party to interview Jai Singh in the manner agreed upon. (Alamgirnamah, 901)

INTERVIEW? 12th June, 1665. *

Jai Singh had got up a little scene to conquer any lingering reluctance that Shiva might still have had. In anticipation of the Maratha Chief's arrival he sent word to Dilir Khan and Kirat Singh, whose earthworks were the most advanced towards Purandhar, to push them on still further and arrange for storming it. The garrison made a sortie to

check the work, but were driven back to the gate of the fort with a loss of 60 killed and many wounded.

While this fight was raging, spies reported to Rajah Jai Singh that Shivaji was coming with Sarfaraz Khan, thanahdar of Shivapur. He at once sent Udai Raj (his own secretary) with Khargsen Kacbhwah to meet him on the way and warn him, saying, "if you are coming to offer submission and obedience and to surrender your forts to the Emperor, then come and receive pardon and favours, and thereby save your life, honour and property. Otherwise you need not come, as your forts and country will be very soon conquered by us." Shiva answered, "I have personally come to him, and shall do whatever loyalty and obedience demand." An hour after he arrived at the Rajah's his camp. Jani Beg, paymaster of the army, ushered him into the general's tent, who advanced a few steps, embraced Shiva, and seated him near himself. Armed Rajputs were stationed around to guard against any treacherous move on the part of the slayer of Afzal Khan.

Shiva a low and humble tone professed regret for having given offence to the Emperor, and offered Purandhar and many other forts in the hope of being pardoned, promising at the same time to serve him loyally in his wars. Jai Singh solemnly promised him safety of life and property, and sent Ghazi Beg, Mir Tuzuk, with one of Shiva's attendants to Dilir Khan and Kirat Singh, to ask them to suspend hostilities and allow the garrison to evacuate the fort. Ghazi Beg bore the message, and Shiva's officer went to the gate of Purandhar and gave to the garrison the order to capitulate. They begged for the night,

† The above is based on the Alamgirnamah, PP. 901-904 and Khafi Khan ii, 181, 182. The Mughal Historians are silent about Dilir Khan's anger, which is mentioned by the Ilksha, p.

† Tarikh-i-Shivaji, 21, b.

† The date is doubtful. May be the 11th June.

54. The following account of the whole affair, given by the last work seems to me rather less reliable: "In order to save the family honour of his retainers, Shiva went with a few men near the Imperial army and sent word to Jai Singh that he had come for an interview, and that the Rajah's son, Kirat Singh should be sent to conduct him in safety. The Rajah was puzzled by his coming, which was quite unexpected. Kirat Singh met Shiva on the way and conducted him with all honour to the Rajah in the afternoon. A host of people, on hearing of his coming issued to see the fun and gaze at him with their own eyes. Jai Singh advanced to the door (of the tent) embraced him and asked about his health. Shiva said "Vast numbers are being slain in the war between us and oppression done to both sides. It does not become me, the humblest of slaves, to defy the Emperor. I find that the prosperity and happiness of the families of my followers consist in submission to the Emperor. I call myself the son of your great self, and have come to "my father" without any mediator or envoy; and I beg pardon for my offences from the Emperor through your intercession. I promise to serve (the Imperial cause) in arduous task like the attack on Quarhar, and offer 24 of my fort as tribute. Lay your hand of paternal love on my head. Mirza Rajah considering this a rare good fortune, they took the oaths of being father and son. There was joy (in the camp). The Rajah sent a messenger to Dilir Khan, saying: "Shiva has come and agrees to evacuate and give up the fort (of Purandhar.) Retire from the trenches". Dilir Khan was displeased on hearing of this, which had happened without his being consulted, and replied, I have undergone hard labour in the siege, and sacrificed many men. The wall has been breached and the assault decided upon. I have (practically) taken the fort by force and shall

Dilir Khan was greatly offended at this pacific end of the siege, which robbed him of the chance of military glory, and at Shiva's not having interceded with him. So he refused to move from his trenches or consent to an armistice. The politic Jai Singh now turned to soothe him. Shiva, who had come with no baggage, had been most hospitably lodged by Jai Singh in his own quarters for the night; and next morning he was sent with Rajah Rai Singh to wait on Dilir Khan, who, mollified by this attention, presented him with two horses, sword, a jewelled dagger, and two pieces of precious cloth. Then Dilir Khan conducted Shiva back to Jai Singh, took his hand, and entrusted him to the Rajah. The Rajah now presented Shiva with a robe of honour, a horse, an elephant, and an ornament for the turban (jigha). Shiva who had come unarmed, with great policy girt on the sword for a short time and then put it off saying, "I shall serve the Emperor as one of his devoted but unarmed servants."

Next day (13th June) according to the agreement, 7,000 men and women (of whom 4,000, were combatants), left Purandhar, and the Mughals entered into possession of it; all the stores, weapons, artillery, and other property found within were attached by the Government. Mughul officers were sent with Shivaji's men to take charge of five other forts to be surrendered by the Marthas.

PEACE.

Sometime before, this while Shiva had been sending Brahman envoys to the Rajah, the latter with his usual foresight had written make peace only after capturing it." Next morning Mirza Rajah sent Shiva with Kirat Singh to interview Dilir Khan, who then withdrew from the siege and came to Mirza Rajah with Shiva." (Dilkasha, pp. 53 and 54.)

to the Emperor begging him to send an Imperial farman (latter granting) favours and addressed to Shivaji. This was to be given to the Maratha chief in the event of his submission. By a strange coincidence the farman and robe of honour sent by the Emperor arrives the day following Shiva's submission. Shiva, by the Rajah's advice, followed the court etiquette, advanced six miles on foot to do honour to and welcome the Imperial letter, and put on the robe (khilat).

After a long discussion it was agreed (1) that Shiva should surrender 23 forts* and their dependent lands yielding revenue of 40 lacs of rupees a year, to the Mughal, (2) that he should be allowed to retain his remaining 12 forts, with attached lands yielding 4 lacs of rupees a year, (3) that he should return home and send his son, Sambhaji (then 8 years old) with a contingent of his soldiers to serve under Jai Singh as his representative, and (4) that when Imperial business required it, Shiva

would personally come and fight under the Imperial banner.

Shivaji then took his leave for Rajgarh, receiving many other presents from the Rajah. Some Mughal officers accompanied him up to 18th June, Sambhaji arrived in the Rajah camp, and was given by the Emperor at Jai Singh request, the rank and pay of a commander of five thousand horse in the Mughal service (22nd Sep).

Thus less than three months from the date when he opened the campaign, Jai Singh had succeeded in bringing down Shiva on his knees; he had made this haughty chief concede a large part of his dominions and consent to serve as a dependent vassal of the Emperor. It was a splendid victory. Shiva loyally carried out his promises: in the war with Ben in the war with Bijapur he with his contingent rendered distinguished service under the Mughal vanner and was mentioned in the despatches. If he was afterwards turned into an irreconcilable foe and the ruiner of the Mughal empire, the policy of Aurangzib was to blame for it. Jai Singh had done his part manfully and wisely, as nobody else could have done.

*They are thus named in the Alamgirnarah, p. 905 (1), Purandhar, (2) Rudramal (=Wajragarh), (3) Kondanah (=Singh-garh) (4) Khandkala, (5) Lohgarh, (6) Isagarh (? =Visolgarh), (7) Tanki, (8) Tikona, (9) Rohira (=Rohila), (10) Nar-durg (11) Mahuli, (12) Bhandardurg, (13) Pakshol, (14) Rupgarh, (15) Baktgarh, (16) Mauranjan, (17) Manikgarh. (18). Sarupgarh, (19) Sagargarh (20) Marggarh, (21) Ankolh, (22) Songarh, and (23) Mangarh. Of these the names of 7, 10, 13, 16, and 20 are doubtful. The port of Choul also was surrendered to the Mughals. The twelve forts retained by Shiva were (1) Rajgarh, (20) Torna, (3) Rairi (=Raigarh), (4) Lingannah, (5) Mhargarh, (6) Ballagarh, (7) Goshala, (8) Iswari, (9) Pali, (10) Bhurup. (11) Kumari, and (12) Udaidurg. (Duff, i 209, n.)

The man seeking truth must come as a worshipper. He must deny himself his own prejudices and preferences. He must put aside all pride and worldly passion and ambition. He must not ask for the applause or even for the sympathy of the multitude. His duty is to observe the thing that is, and to allow it to make its own impress upon his mind. Then he is bound to give an absolutely simple report of what he has found. To allow any ulterior motives to influence him would be to profane the altar at which he serves. Even the utility of the truth he discovers is not his primary consideration. The question, "is it true?" must not be confused with any other.—S. M. Crothers.

CHAOS IN EDUCATION IN WEST BENGAL

BIBHUTI BHUSAN BOSE

Now-a-days it has become a fashion for the persons who are in charge of Government to do something new. This craze for the new and unknown has at last invaded the field of education. Government of India after Independence has set up three Commissions—Radhakrishnan Commission (1948), Mudaliar Commission (1952) and Kothari Commission (1964). Mudaliar Commission recommended eleven year Higher Secondary and three year degree course and Kothari Commission has again reverted to Ten Class Secondary Education, two year Intermediate (known as Higher Secondary Education) and two or three year degree course (Honours in three years.) This process of experiment has totally upset the mental equilibrium of the average students whose only problem is to pass Examinations and get an opportunity for employment.

Left Front Government in West Bengal is not also lagging far behind the Central Government in their craze for new and has done all out effort to attack the field of education. Many problems have faced West Bengal at the present moment—Electricity, Food, Unemployment, Shelter, Education and Health. West Bengal Government has failed totally to solve the problems of millions of country in all fields and at last is trying to solve the problem of education by radical reform. We shall discuss below the proposal of West Bengal Government and our opinions :—

PRIMARY STAGE

- 1) Left Front Government in West

Bengal has proposed to ban English from Class I to Class V.

- 2) The Government has banned Sahaj Path of Rabindra Nath Tagore from Class I and II and introduced a new book (compiled from various eminent writers of Bengal) in its place. The plea is that in the writings of Rabindra Nath the Left Government has found the seed of caste and class division. But due to strong public opinion it has been forced to stay the proposal for the time being.

- 3) The Left Government proposed that students in any class from Class I to V will be declared to have been successful and all will get promotion without reading a single page of the book. (The government circular of course is not available upto now).

SECONDARY STAGE.

- 1) Sanskrit has been declared to be additional subject and any subject may be taken its place.

DEGREE COURSE

- 1) English and Bengali languages are declared to be additional subjects by the Left Front Committee.

These are, in short, the proposals of Left Front Government headed by Communist Party of India (Marxist). Intellectuals of West Bengal have launched struggle against those obnoxious proposals. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Roy, Probodh Chandra Sen, Dr. Pratul Chandra Gupta etc., have written articles against the banning of English and Sahaj Path

of Rabindra Nath from the curriculum of primary schools. They are afraid that in future the difference between haves and have-nots will be wider due to prevalence of English medium schools conducted by (i) Individuals e. g. South Point, Path Bhavan, (ii) Christian Missionaries e. g. Assembly of God Church etc. and (iii) enlightened persons (where medium of instruction is in Vernacular and special stress is laid on the teaching of English). This is against the principle of Marxism also wherein dream for classless society based on equality is visible.

Replacement of Sahaj Path (Part I and II) of famous poet of Rabindra Nath on the false plea there is seed of class or caste hatched entirely false, unwarranted and compilation of a book written by eminent scholars may be placed at the hands of students at a later stage. The idea of no failure in examinations in the primary stage in the present stage of our society is not possible. If it is introduced at this stage in our country, there would be complete intellectual stagnation.

SECONDARY AND DEGREE STAGE

Sanskrit is abolished from the Secondary Stage. Sanskrit is the mother of all Indian languages and the store-house of knowledge, lyrical poems, philosophy, astronomy, astrology, and gives a vivid picture of Indian conception of an ideal life on earth. If it is abolished, the students will be deficient in mastering the mother language also. In this connection, the remarks of Vidyasagar may be mentioned :

"If I get the freedom to teach them (students) Sanskrit to acquire a proper command over Bengali and then to impart to them real knowledge through English and if I get the necessary assistance and

encouragement from the Education Committee in my work, then I can assure you that within a few years I shall produce a band of students who will more efficiently help spread of education among the people by virtue of their capacity to write and teach the students who have proved their merit in any of your English or Indian colleges (Letter written to Dr. Monat, the then Secretary of Education Committee).

The persons who are in charge of Educational reform in West Bengal should remember the opinion of Pt. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar of revered memory about Sanskrit ever to-day.

Teaching of English and Bengali has been made optional in B. A. Class. Upto now language was the chief factor in B. A. Class. With the advent of Left Front Government it has been set aside and is declared to be optional. The move is prejudicial to the interest of intellectual progress of our country. Languages should be cultivated by certain classes in the interest of culture and should not be thought in the commercial light.

Quotations are seen against and for abolition of English from the primary stage of our education in all places of West Bengal—Wells, newspapers, magazines, leaflets etc. Protagonists for abolition of English from the curriculum of our schools should remember that nowhere did Rishi Bankim, Rabindra Nath and Mr. Gandhi advocate complete of English in India. On the other hand, they recognised it as the connecting link of the peoples of all provinces in India and abroad and store-house of knowledge and means for propagation of Indian culture into the world. Dr. Sunity Kumar Chatterjee, the eminent Indian Scholar said that we can stand before

The world with the help of English and Sanskrit and these two languages should be mastered thoroughly in order to preach Indian way of life before the world.

We have discussed, in brief, the chaotic condition in the educational system of West Bengal. Rabindra Nath, Swami Vivekananda, M. K. Gandhi, Subhas Chandra were made

famous through English and they appreciated the importance of English in our public life. We do hope that the Government of West Bengal will drop the idea of so-called reform of education already made chaotic by Government of India in the reports of two Commissions—Mudaliar Commission and Kothari Commission.

SIR SENERAT GUNewardENE, STATESMAN-DIPLOMAT AND NOW PRESIDENT OF ALL LANKA BUDDHIST CONGRESS BUDDHADASA P. KIRTISINGHE

Sir Senerat shines in the annals of SRI LANKA, for many roles he has played in her service, as a lawyer, statesman, educationist, Cabinet Minister, Diplomat, Chairman of the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

Now, on his retirement at the age of 75 years, he is still active as the President of the All Sri Lanka Buddhist Congress, and the Chairman of the Buddhist Theosophical Society.

His admirable and creative services are missed in the U. N., U. S. A., and Europe,

where he worked arduously to bring social economic justice to all mankind. Although one misses him at the United Nations, it is a pleasure to observe the creative work he is rendering at home selflessly.

The Independence Movement of Sri Lanka began immediately after the dark days in 1915, after a bloody riot between the Sinhalese and Moors. Thereafter, the people realized they should agitate for more independence. A public meeting called on leaders of Sri Lanka to form a National Committee for obtaining

constitutional reforms and at this meeting Sir Senerat Gunewardene, who was only 18 years of age, was elected to the National Committee. The result of the agitation was the birth of the Sri Lanka National Congress and Sir Senerat became inevitably a founder member.

At the age of 26 years, Sir Senerat was appointed the Secretary-General of the Sri Lanka National Congress. This office he held for 9 years at the most crucial time in the history of Sri Lanka. The year after he became Secretary-General, his closest friend of his life, the late Premier, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, was elected the co-Secretary-General. He allowed his junior, Mr. Bandaranaike, to become the President of the Congress and Sir Senerat continued to be Secretary-General.

He became a Vice-President of the Congress after 9 years of strenuous service as its Secretary-General. But he refused to become its President because he felt that the National Congress was becoming too feudalistic in character. He was appointed Secretary of almost every important public meeting in Sri Lanka held on religious, social and national affairs, as he felt it was the most effective way of serving his country.

In 1931 he contested the Gampola Seat in the State Council of Sri Lanka. He did so because he wanted feudalism to end and his rival candidate was the uncrowned 'king' of the Kandyan Province, Sir T. B. Panaboka. Sir Senerat spent only two months campaigning in an area before the elections where he did not know the people in his electorate from the outset. He was considered an intruder from the low country but the people hailed him as a "bonnie Prince Charlie" and gave him their love and affection.

Those in power realizing the probable

defeat of Sir T. B. Panaboka advanced the date of the election by two weeks. But even this scheme failed to help Sir Panaboka, who lost his seat to Sir Senerat by a narrow margin. As the late Sir Francis Molamure, the former Speaker of the State Council, stated in a leading article, Sir Senerat Gunewardene shook the very foundations of feudalism and it was a moral victory for him. At the time when he contested this seat, he was occupying a leading place in the Criminal Courts and within four years his Bar career had occupied a pre-eminent place, but the call from his country was too great for him. He gave up his career at the Bar and dedicated himself to work among the humble masses of the upcountry districts. It was a tremendous sacrifice for him because he gave up a comfortable life in the country for a hard life in the villages. He shared meals with his constituents—poor villagers—and tried to understand the lot of the common people at the height of his social and professional success.

In the State Council he was soon recognized as a first class speaker. The three most outstanding speakers in the State Council were Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and Sir Senerat Gunewardene. The British Planting Community who opposed his candidacy at the beginning later acclaimed his performances in the State Council and the Chairman of the Planters' Association of Sri Lanka stated that of the 55 Budget speeches made, the best speech was that of Sir Senerat's. In the first year he became the Minister of Local Government & Administration fighting against the opposition of the Leader of the House, the late R. Hon'ble D. S. Senanayake. When the United National Party (UNP) was formed he became a founder member. He was a rebel but his merits could not be ignored.

He served in the Sri Lanka Parliament for

14 years. When Sri Lanka became independent, he was appointed Minister of State and Chief Government Whip, although he was not a favourite of the powers to be, but they could not form a Government without him as they feared to have him in the Opposition.

Sir Andrew Caldecott, then Governor of Sri Lanka, stated that if merits were to count for anything, young Gunewardene should be the next Premier of Sri Lanka, and he recommended to the late Premier Rt. Hon'ble D. S. Senanayake that Mr. Gunewardene should get one of the highest Cabinet posts in the country.

In 1952 he met with reverse on an election petition and his son was also dying then. He stated in Court that he would give up his seat as long as it is challenged. The Presiding Judge stated that Mr. Gunewardene conformed to the highest standards of democracy and professional integrity. The opposition lawyers paid equal tribute and stated that Mr. Gunewardene has a distinguished career in the Bar and a more distinguished public life and that he was the last to wish Mr. Gunewardene out of public life.

Until the next General Election, he continued his public life. He became the Chairman of the Board of Indigenous Medicine and brought new life and vigour to that Institution when things were in a chaotic state. Towards the close of 1952, the late Rt. Hon'ble D. S. Senanayake, Premier, asked him to open the first Sri Lanka Embassy in Europe and appointed him Envoy to Italy. Two years later he was appointed as Sri Lanka's Ambassador to the United States of America.

In the United States he had a challenging job to do. He found that Sri Lanka was denied economic aid because Sri Lanka was disqualified under the Battle Act, by reason of the fact that Sri Lanka had entered into a rice and rubber barter deal with the Peoples'

Republic of China. Ambassador Gunewardene was determined to get economic aid in spite of the Battle Act, and for 18 months he stumped the country (U. S. A.) and he won public support for economic aid to Sri Lanka. He saw the repeal of the Battle Act and the economic aid proposal go through the United States Congress without a single dissenting vote.

The next major problem he undertook was Sri Lanka's admission to the United Nations. He came to the United Nations in 1955 as an Observer at the height of international tension. He found it impossible to get Sri Lanka into the United Nations without 17 other countries, who were also knocking at the United Nations door, being admitted. He then conceived the idea of a package deal for the admission of all 18 nations. What seemed impossible for a decade was now found possible.

The late Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, told Sir Senerat Gunewardene that he had tried package deals of 3 and 4, in which Sri Lanka had been included, but he found it impossible to get it through. He felt that it would be impossible to get a package deal of 18 through. He (the Secretary-General) thought that the item would not reach a successful conclusion in the 1955 Session, because a Good Offices Committee had been functioning for 4 years and that Committee had been unable to submit even a progress report. But Sir Senerat Gunewardene, undaunted by all what was said, was determined to get it through although both Mr. Krishna Menon and the late Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld discouraged him. This determined effort of Sir Senerat won the admiration of both of them, and he received special co-operation from Mr. Krishna Menon, one of the most ego-central figures among the United Nations delegates.

By this time, Sir Senerat Gunewardene was

invited to be a full member of the Commonwealth Group of the United Nations and full member of the Asian-African Group although not even a member of the United Nations but for all practical purposes acted as a Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka.

Sir Senerat canvassed every delegation in the United Nations, working almost 20 1/2 hours a day. He addressed the Commonwealth Group, the Asian-African Group, the Latin-American Group, and flew to Geneva in 1955, having completed his canvassing, to meet the Foreign Ministers of the Four Great Powers. The Foreign Ministers' Conference failed, but Sir Senerat obtained an agreement of the Great Powers for the package deal and in December, 1955, 18 nations were admitted to the World Assembly. Sir Senerat was triumphantly conducted to take Sri Lanka's seat by Krishna Menon, Sir Pearson Dixon of the United Kingdom and Ananda Lal of India. He was the first to occupy a seat out of the 18 new members and he was acknowledged as the hero of the hour, receiving thunderous ovation from the delegates.

Sir Senerat Gunewardene was immediately appointed Sri Lanka's first Permanent Representative to the United Nations while yet holding his post as Ambassador of Sri Lanka to the United States of America and High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in Canada. For this magnificent work, although the British honours list was closed on 1st July, 1955, on the very next day after Sri Lanka was admitted to the United Nations Her Majesty offered him a Knighthood, and Sir Senerat was knighted on 1st January, 1956.

In 1956 Sir Senerat was leader of the Sri Lanka Delegation to the United Nations Conference on Maintenance Obligations. He was elected Chairman of the Conference. He safely piloted a convention on a subject which

awaited solution from the time of the days of the League of Nations. The handling of this Conference consisted of eminent lawyers, judges and jurists and required a grasp of all systems of law in the world. 1956 was a crucial year—there was the revision of procedure of the United Nations, the Sugar Conference, the Atomic Energy Conference, etc, etc. In all of these conferences he played a vital role.

In 1957, he was invited to join the Hungarian Committee of the United Nations where he was not prepared to be influenced by his own Government and by all the Big Powers, and he condemned Russian repression in Hungary. He played a super-human role to make the report worthwhile.

In 1957 Sir Senerat was elected a Vice-President of the United Nations General Assembly, when there was 1 Vice-President for Asia-Africa and he polled the largest number of votes and he topped the list with the United States but beating the polling of all other Great Powers.

In 1958, owing to leftist political pressure in his country due to his Hungarian Committee work, he was relieved of his duties as Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka to the United Nations but he was yet honoured to continue as Sri Lanka's Ambassador to the United States of America and he was simultaneously accredited as Sri Lanka's Ambassador to Cuba and Mexico.

In March 1958, although he was no more Permanent Representative, he was elected Chairman of the Human Rights Commission and continued in that office until 1960. In July 1961, he was appointed Ambassador of Sri Lanka to France and concurrently to Switzerland. In March 1962, he was relieved of his duties as Ambassador to France, being

appointed Ambassador to the European Common Market while functioning as Sri Lanka's High Commissioner (Ambassador) to Great Britain. In London he negotiated the zero tariff for Tea with the Common Market, the life blood of Sri Lanka, before the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which met in London in 1961.

For his work in London he was applauded both by the British and the Sri Lanka Government recognizing him as the best High Commissioner Sri Lanka had ever appointed to Her Majesty's Court of England.

In 1961, he led the Sri Lanka Delegation to the World Health Organization and was elected Chairman of its Legal Committee. He was also leader of the Sri Lanka Delegation to UNESCO and was chosen Chairman of the Asian Section.

The same Government which relieved him of his post as Permanent Representative of Sri

Lanka to the United Nations has now reappointed him to the same post. This, as stated before, was inevitable. Sri Lanka, perhaps, could not find a person with such ability, integrity, tact, and leadership qualities.

He has become a loved Statesman of the World Organization, the Commonwealth of Nations, and the people of Sri Lanka. The Summum Bonum of his career would have been the Presidentship of the United Nations General Assembly when the next turn for Asia comes, but for a change of government at home, when he was cruelly and sadly recalled. But one should not lament too much, as when it was made impossible for him to serve mankind in one capacity, he is proudly serving in another, as President of the All Sri Lanka Buddhist Congress, where he is creatively engaged in rebuilding the ethical and cultural heritage, not only of Sri Lanka, but perhaps the whole of South Asia, through Buddhism. Is not Buddhism the backbone of South Asian civilization?



INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

AMIYA KUMAR MUKHERJEE

The Constitution of India has approved both trade union and strike as the rights of the workers to fight against the unlawful activities of the management as also to get their lawful demands fulfilled. But unfortunately these constitutional rights are now-a-days being awfully misused by the working class of India as a consequence of which the sufferings of the common people have been immensely increased and the national losses are getting beyond control day by day. Quite evidently the aforesaid constitutional rights themselves have become the matters of great concern not only to the companies' managements but also to the workers and the people in genera.

As a rule every seven members of staff may form a trade union. This facility has been given to enable the workers of the small organisations also to form unions and to fight for their rightful demands. But the essence of the rule have been so misused by the employees and the workers that almost in every organisation the number of unions is more than several and this undesirable number of unions creates more and more division, dispute and quarrel among the employees. Unity among the workers or employees is, therefore, getting minimised very rapidly. This disunity, in turn, makes the workers more and more undisciplined, inconsiderate, unruly and violent.

The unions of the modern age instigate their members to fight not only against the management but also against other unions or, so to say, against their fellow workers. They remain always engaged in their demands and

disputes but they do not show the due interest in their respect duties. They come to office two or three hours late, waste their time in gossips and conspiracy and then leave their office before the scheduled time, keeping their works pending. They take bribe from the outsiders for their slightest service. The bribing system at the railway booking counters are well known to all. The prevalent bribing systems or the looting policies in the hospitals, educational institutions, registration offices, employment exchanges and many other Government departments are also experienced off and on. Apart from these, there is negligence of the workers and employees in their respective duties which is more harmful to our nation. The doctors, nurses and other hospital staff go on strike, leaving their ailing patients in the face of death. The workers and engineers of many important departments go on strike hampering the productions to a great extent. The low production of electricity and frequent load-shedding are also due more to the negligence of workers in their respective duties than to the capacity of the machires and equipments. Loading, unloading and transshipment of food-stuffs and other materials are not promptly and sincerely done by the workers at the docks and railway yards as a result of which our national losses involve crores of rupees. Frequent strikes and other adverse activities of the teaching and non-teaching staff of schools, colleges and universities have drawn the educational institutions to so low a standard that education is hardly available there. Neither the examinations are held in time nor the results and certificates are

issued within an appreciable period. The M. A. examinations of the Calcutta University of the year 1975 were held in 1977 and those of the year 1976 were held in 1978; the certificates of the students who passed the B.A. examination in 1972 were issued in 1980. Such promptness in work of the staff and authorities concerned hamper the future career of the students to a great extent, particularly in the matter of employment. But no union pays any heed to the national losses and public sufferings caused due to the negligence of the workers in their duties; and instead, they instigate their members to earn more and more money in their pockets not only from the management of the companies and institutions but also from the poor people of India. Bribing, insincerity and dishonesty are thus increasing day by day in almost all the departments and as a matter of fact the workers and their trade unions are engaged more in their selfish trades than in unity to fight against the odds. These unions have not only proved themselves to be no better than the managements against which they fight but also have registered their names in the list of odds and unsocial elements; and this is perhaps the main reason that the workers unions are gradually losing the public faith and sympathy in the modern days.

It is high time for the workers and their unions to come out of their caves of selfishness and give a progressive thought into the matters. The doctors, nurses and other hospital staff must feel a sense of brotherhood with the patients and render their services in the true sense of service. They should consciously realise that they are all essential staff and as such the frequent strikes launched by them in hospitals and medical units put the patients to a state of unspeakable sufferings. Their day-to-day negligence in service have also become a matter of great concern. Patients do not

get their foods and medicines in a proper way, nor they are duly attended by the hospital staff at the time of need. The behaviour of hospital staff towards the patients are also very rough and unkind. We often come across the news of many fatal incidents due mainly to the negligence of staff in their duties. Sometime ago a woman had undergone an abdominal operation in a big hospital. She was advised by the doctor not to leave her bed and remain in complete rest for few days. During her rest period she once asked for a bed-pan but the staff on duty did not care it at all as she was engaged in her gossips etc. After waiting for a long time, when no bed-pan was served, the patient being quite helpless found no other alternative but to leave her bed for the urinal. But on her way to the urinal she fell down and died instantly. Such examples of services are not only disgraceful to a free country like that of ours but are creating panic in the mind of the patients about the hospitals and hospitali.

The unions, in my opinion, should not only act as organisations involving in monetary gains of the employees but also utilise their energies in getting their members properly trained on humanitarian ground so that the staff and employees may render their services in the true sense of service to the nation and humanity. Before representing their own demands and protests they should at least prove their honesty, sincerity and eligibility for more prospect, promotion and facility by rendering their services in a proper way and by gaining public sympathy and support in their favour. The unions must see that their members attend offices or factories in time and work sincerely so that productions are increased, and loading, unloading and transshipments are properly done. The unions of the teaching and non-teaching staff should take particular care to see that the careers of

the students may not get spoiled at the instance of strikes and other demonstrations like go-slow and work-to-rule. At the same time the workers must leave their unquenchable thirst for bribe and give up their bad and harmful habits of stealing materials from the stores and selling them in the black market as is often experienced in the matter of medical stores and godowns of public property. They must leave the habit of earning money in a dishonest way as they do by submitting false medical bills, false L. T. C. bills etc. It is essential to remember that neither any successful fight can be launched against the odds nor truth and justice can be established in any branch of our business if the workers and employees themselves remain as much dishonest, corrupted, 'indisciplined and insincere as they are now. They must change their mentality, manners and feelings if they are determined to fight against the odds as otherwise all their struggles and demonstrations will lead them to farce and frustration and will directly or indirectly help the management's unjustified activities. A single instance will illustrate the failures of the trade unions. They have so long fought for increase of salary, bonus, exgratia etc., and they have succeeded in this regard to a great extent. But if we compare their financial position with the market price which has increased by leaps and bounds to as much extent as to defeat the increase of salary of the workers, it will be quite clear to us that the economic condition of the workers is now worse than what it had been in the past, because the capitalist group or the administration which increases the

salary of the workers has got a direct hand to increase the market index. That is to say, the capitalist group has made a good issue of business out of the question of increase of salary of the workers and as a matter of fact the workers have gained nothing in the true sense. The Unions have also arranged a good deal of freedom for the workers, but this freedom has made them more indisciplined and more corrupted. Though the unions give their slogans against the corruption of the employers, they are not at all interested to remove corruptions from their own camp. Their struggle against the employers, therefore, seems to be a struggle for more freedom and more facilities in their own hands so as to enable themselves to be more corrupted and dishonest.

It is evident from the facts we have been experiencing almost daily that unless corruption is eliminated and the path of honesty and sincerity is achieved by the workers which constitutes the big mass of the country, it is quite impossible to do anything good to the mass and the motherland. Struggle against injustice and corruption requires a good deal of moral strength, but in the modern age the lack of moral strength have degraded the workers and their unions to a great extent. It is now most essential for the unions to give a thoughtful consideration into these matters and take a concrete decision and step to clean and purify their own hands and gain as much strength and vigour as to launch a true fight against the odds, to tread them down mercilessly under the feet and finally to restore a society of our dreams.

FOLK SONG OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE

SANTOSH KUMAR DE

Folk song is sung and heard in every country. The composers of these songs are everywhere illiterate or half-educated tillers or day labourers. These songs have been sung and circulated and orally perpetuated from generation to generation. No body knows who were the composers or when were they composed, nor does anybody care to know all these. They give the common people pleasure, that is why they sing and hear these songs with delight. An European critic in connection with the criticism of folk song rightly observed, "Whatever the sources, however, it is real circulation that is best general criticism of what is a folk song." Really so, folk songs are being sung even now by the myriad and that shows its popularity. But as folk song has been orally perpetuated—it has no manuscript. Still it has gathered strength in every age, and new songs have been added which again fired the imagination of the succeeding generations. So Mr. R. M. Dawkins in his "The Meaning of Folk Tales" says, "It (folk song) has been carried down the centuries and like a snow-ball without losing its ancient core has gathered round it the spiritual and imaginative riches of a people of a much more advanced age, of a much more civilised culture."

The tune of the folk song is very simple, common and traditional—no lesson or teacher is required to master it, nor does it require like the classical music long tutelage under an Ostad (teacher) or close concentration to learn. Anyone who has fairly good voice can sing it and others may follow him.

Social back ground has invariably been the source and origin of folk song everywhere. Whenever there is oppression of the rich or the influential people on the poor and the weak, the village poet being unable to lodge a direct protest gives vent to his feelings in a round about way in the form of song. Of course, it would be wrong to imagine that only injustice or oppression is the origin of folk song. Like all other poetical compositions joy and intense feeling are at the root of all folk songs. The village poet thrilled with passionate delight sometimes sings of love and languishment in full-throated voice; again when he sees birth and death and fails to solve the deep mystery underlying therein, he sings serious songs like :—

"Into the cage flies the unknown bird,
It comes I know not whence.
Powerless my mind to chain its feet,
It goes I know not where."

Many of course, do not like to admit songs like these as folk songs. but classify them as simple metaphysical songs or devotional melodies and place them in the same category as Murshidya, Marfati, Sahajia, Nath Giti etc's, for according to them there is mysticism in such songs, and instead of originating from social consciousness, they have their origin in personal spiritual consciousness. But against this it may be reasonably pointed out that such songs have been composed by illiterate and unsophisticated tillers and labourers of all communities, and have become a source of joy and inspiration to the village community. Folksongs may not

have depth of thought, but by delineating the beauty of hills and dales, rivers and ravines, forests and fields and by describing passions, feelings and longings of the rural people they have suppliednt suffice material for the joy and inspiration of the village folk.

India's folk song is rich, colourful and expressive and full of distinctive character. There are immense varieties of folk songs that cover almost entire range of village activity. The boat man sings his Bhatiali, the cultivator a simple devotional song or a song of lover's union and separation, or of weal or woe of pastoral life, and the wood-cutter another variety; but in all these varieties one common thing is marked, and that is the steadfast spirit and robust optimism of the people. Each variety has special features in the construction of its musical scale, its rhythms, and use of musical instruments, of very simple construction. These special features and immense varieties are due not only to the fact that India is a vast sub-continent, having people of various nationalities, each with its own tradition of musical art, but also even in the same nationality the music in different areas shows strong local characteristics resulting from the differences in social conditions and customs. For example, the forceful and resonant songs of the hill tribes of Darjelling district and the sweet melodious songs of the cultivators of Mymansingh district would clearly show the differences in natural surroundings, temperament and outlook of the cultivators of these two districts of the same province (in the pre-partition days). But along with such special features, there is always one underlying fundamental character, as has already been said, that inspires all folk songs: This is the eternally radiant spirit of the toiling mass.

But time has changed and with it the taste of the people. The folk song which was once a source of joy and inspiration to the simple village folk is now in dying condition and has almost ceased to give them pleasure. It is not only so in our country alone but everywhere. Why has it come to this star pass? Why folk song today cannot give pleasure not only to the urban people but also to the villagers? We should probe deep and find out the cause that has brought this reaction.

The village community which was once the pith and marrow of the folk song is itself in dying condition today. Vitality seems to have disappeared from community life. People are not contented with village life. Petty jealousy, litigation and insanitary condition of villages have compelled villagers to rush to the neighbouring towns. Social life has also been changed by the industrial revolution. Landless people do not find job in the village; whereas in towns and cities there being factories, workshops and hundred other sources of employment, they may get chance to earn wages. Moreover, in towns there are cinemas, theatre houses, radios and hundred other diversities whose power of attraction is immensely greater than that of the folk song. All these have repercussion on village life, and as such taste of the village folk has changed. The culture and taste which could have satisfied the villagers some one hundred or two hundred years back, now fail to satisfy them. The simple, artless life of the bygone age is today a memory of the distant past. It is not so only in our country—the same tale is repeated everywhere. What Mr. A. William has pointed out as the cause of the disappearance of folk song in his "Folksong of the Upper Thames" may be applied everywhere:—

"Education has played its part. The instruction given to the children at village

schools proved antagonistic to the old minstrelsy. Dialect and homely language were discountenanced; teachers were imported from the towns, and they had little sympathy with village life and customs. The words and spirits of the songs were misunderstood, and the tunes were counted too simple. The construction of railways, the linking up of villages with other districts, and contact with large towns and cities had an immediate and permanent effect upon the minstrelsy of the countryside. Many of the village labourers migrated to towns, or to the colonies, and most of them no longer cared for the old ballads, or were too busily occupied to remember them."

Folk songs are outstanding examples of our cultural heritage. They should not be allowed to sink into oblivion. So it is gratifying to learn that attempt is being made to revive the dying folk song. Films and gramophone records, the A. I. Radio and some cultural organisations are collaborating with each other to make folk songs like Sari, Jari, Bhatiali etc., suitable to the taste of the educated towns people, and for this they are being sung in accompaniment of musical instruments which are quite foreign to their spirit. This reorientation of folk song may help it make presentable to the stage, but if folk songs take a turn in this direction, it would be difficult to preserve their original purity and pristine glory. If folk songs are divorced from the contact with the village people or rural perspective, their true spirit and tune will be lost for ever. Musical instruments have very little to do with folk songs. Most of the folk songs are vocal songs, sung without any musical instrument. The Bhatiali is sung with the stroke of the oar on the water while playing a boat; in rare case where country made musical instruments like tambourine, tom-tom, drum

or single-stringed guitar are used, their sole aim is to add some mildness or sweetness to the voice and not to regulate the voice of the singer according to these instruments.

The folk songs which were so long orally perpetuated and sung in the countryside should be collected and published in book form. Organisations specially entrusted with research in folk music should be established at different centres. Musicians should be despatched to remote villages and to the tribal areas to collect and study material on the spot. These precious musical compositions of the past should be carefully preserved and added to the common treasury of musical culture. Musical institutions and song and dance ensembles in various important towns and cities should take the study of folk song and folk music as an important task.

Attempts are also being made in Europe and America to revive and preserve the dying folk songs by various means. The Library Congress in America in cooperation with universities, colleges and other organisations are doing yeoman's service in this respect. In resurgent China, the dying folk songs are not only being collected and preserved but also to keep pace with the spirit of the time new folk songs are being composed.

In the bygone age in China poor cultivators and labourers used to give hint to their oppression of the rich and influential people on the poor and weak in an indirect way in their folk songs; but in the folk songs of the new age that are now being composed, they raise their voice of protest in a strong and unequivocal language. These new folk songs are songs praising the heroic struggle of the Red Army, the revolutionary heroes, the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao-Tse-tung, Liu Chih-tan, of northern Shansi Province, Kata-meilin, of Inner Mongolia. General Tso Chuan

of Shensi Province. "The East shines red," expressing the love of the people for their leader, Chairman Mao and "The sun rises and the hills are red," a Yi people's song which praises about revolution may be mentioned here as examples of fine pieces of a new creation in folk song. "Tribute to Peking" with music by Sultan Murat, an Uighur folk musician of Sinkiang is another new folk song—a few lines of which are quoted here to show the new spirit.

"The dark clouds in the sky are blown
away ;

The earth is swept clean,

Our hearts are radiant and fresh as
morning dew ;

What happiness in the era of Mao-Tse-
tung !

Ah great leader, our joy, our life,
In the garden the seed of felicity is
planted ;

Beautiful young shoots are burgeoning,
We pledge to do our utmost ;

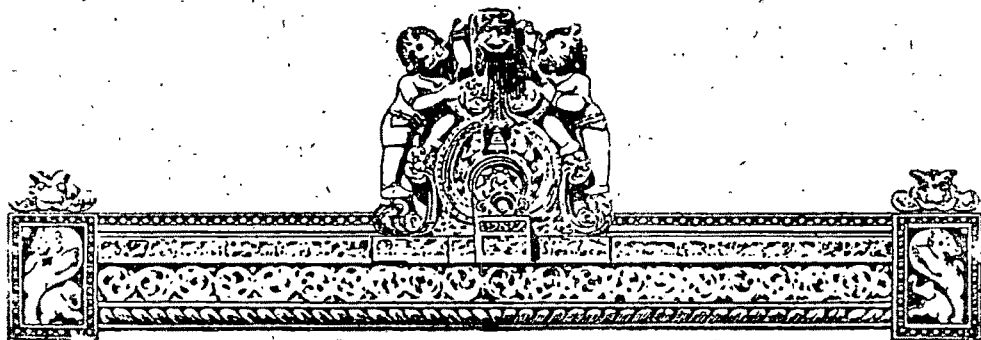
So that the flower of happiness will bloom
in full.

Chinese people think that this song has a stamina for permanence and is an outstanding literary and musical achievement.

Now let us pause for a moment to think how far this attempt of composing new folk songs will be successful. Folk song is spon-

taneous, if artificiality enters into it, its spirit is dead. Everywhere illiterate village poets find their spirit and soul as it were in nature and make the sky, the land and water resonant with sweet musical voice. Where will the present composers of folk song find that yearning in the new creation? These may be folk songs in name and structure but the music of the folk song of the bygone age will not be found in these. The age, the spirit and the environment that is gone cannot be revoked, consequently we fear, this attempt will end in failure. This attempt of composing new folk songs will be not a bit more successful than the attempt to create a natural atmosphere in a banquet hall by plucking wild flowers and placing them on an artistic vase.

Folk song may be saved anyhow from its imminent death but it is very much doubtful that it will be set in its former glory. We should not forget that the old environment, the old mentality and simple and artless life of the village folk are no more. The mental condition of the people has changed as a result of coming in contact with modern civilisation. The enthusiasm that a village poet could rouse among his fellow men, a century or two back in the simple and artless environment is not possible now. Still attempt should be made to compile and preserve old ballads, folk songs and folk music.



OUR UNIVERSAL GOD

Prof. K. S. RAMAKRISHNA RAO

1

You are Lord of all !
You work in near places and you work in
far places,
In the farther stranger landscapes of all
spaces.
You are Lord of Shakti and Sristi.
You are outside none, present unperceived
to all due to Maya.
You are in the hearts of all,
Only man is to have faith in himself and
then in God.
One who has no faith in himself can never
have faith in Lord.

2

You are manifest in countless constellations
of fiery suns
Your everlasting love of creation ;
Your mind has leaped beyond the cosmic
fringes of far lonely stars,
to vision new universes of vivifying
light ;
In your spirit, awaiting your animating
word,
lie the ethereal forms of infinite
possible worlds.
And if ever you had dreams what inscrut-
able imagery !
Large eternal world without beginning and
without end
You are a Great-magician of transcenden-
tal glories.

3

And as you dwell in farther,
so you dwell in the near and the small.
(Anoraniyan mahato mahiyan)
You are the primal cause of all creation,
immense, incomprehensible, a festival.
Where your quickening spirit ever stirs in
those marvellous realms,
that are forbidden to man's magnifying
glasses,
The atoms are places, and pearls as big as
suns,
there move the primal energies of
things,
There somehow are born the children of
God.

4

Oh ! that we know the magic bridge that
runs
between your thoughts and the seeds
of all things,
Yet we acknowledge in humility that the
secret of creation
would not be safe in our self-serving
hands.
And even if science says the secrets of the
mysteries of the universe
in its own idiom,
You dare not trust more power to hearts
that consist not of love !

You must be loved in all things of all your creation.

even in all your doings,
And this the law of Nature commands.

You alone are perfect love !

You are Lord of all !!

What matters then on this chip of earth,

I lay down my head to sleep ?

Your spirit envelops me, permeates me as

sunlight a crystal sphere,

The heavenly peace falls upon^o my mind,

as silently, as ceaselessly, as moon-

beams on still waters.

The magnificence of the star stream, firmament quiets my too active mind.

The heavens' ineffable serenity infects me
with irresistable calm.

You are my invisible, everpresent Friend.

Philosopher and Guide.

In peaceful sleep my soul departs

somewhere to live in your mysterious

case.

O Lord adored and sought in every clime,

By every faith, you are the final truth.

The selfless self, and Brahman the

Absolute.

ASSONANCE

MANAS BAKSHI

Days were silent with the situation

Moments of caasion Secured in it

a language to mask the voice

of an unborn age

Lines of equation—disingenuous then

read as dead were mere hints

but as illusion is proved to life, after ward.

pangs of cureless living

Lovelessness is given way to

transcient imprints, in the hous of

Causation, motion embracing the life

Leaving its cage.

A PHYSICIAN PRAYS

KALIKINKAR SENGUPTA

Lord !

Inscrutable in Thine own design
 Thou givest pleasure and pain,—
 In pleasure, may we think of You,—

In pain, to never err again.
 Whate'er we do or want to do
 To seek and find our selfish end,—
 Teach us not to swell our selves

But our selfish manners mend.
 If I save one heart from breaking
 Or help one's failing hopes revive,—
 Let my own heart revel in cheers
 To see that others live and thrive.

If I cure one fest'ring sore
 Or soothe one sharp and shooting pain,—
 May I never crave for heaven
 But pray to be born to serve again.

Give us God Thy magic wand
 Thy children so to minister,—
 That I may heal the ills that kill
 And make misfortune sinister.

Those that die and die by inches
 Those whose lives are worse than death,—
 Grant me Faith, that I may give them
 Nerve of steel and brawn of strength.

Give me eyes to find the thorn
 That lies imbedded deep in flesh,—
 Bless my hand to pull that out
 To make him hale and smile afresh.

Give me lessons to listen and learn
 The voice of mumbling muttering lips,—
 That mine own thirst gets appeased
 When I find my patient sips.

Teach my tongue to preach The Grace
 When I fail to find a cure,—

Current Affairs

The Ninth Anniversary of the Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation

by—V. Smirnov

In the summer of 1971, the attention of all the world was riveted on the events in the Indian subcontinent, on the struggle waged by the people of East Pakistan for the right to decide their own destiny. It is not only the Islamabad regime that opposed the realisation of that dream—it had the backing of Washington and Peking. A direct prey to the collusion was India, where millions of Bengalis from East Pakistan had to seek shelter from Islamabad's policy of genocide carried out with the connivance of the USA and China. In the face of an additional economic burden and the continuous threats heard from Peking and Washington, India sought support from her friends. The first to come to India's assistance was the Soviet Union: On August 9, during the visit to Delhi by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko the two countries concluded the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between them.

On the basis and in pursuance of the Treaty, the Soviet Union and India have concluded nearly a hundred bilateral agreements and protocols on cooperation in practically every field. Like the Treaty, these documents are a legitimate result of the free and equal expression of the will of the peoples of both countries. All this has helped to make Soviet-Indian cooperation long-term and stable in character, to plan it for many years ahead. Already in effect is the long-term programme for economic, trade, scientific and

technical cooperation signed for a period of 10-15 years during the visit of Alexei Kossygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to India in March 1979. A vivid example of such promising cooperation are the first Indian man-made earth's satellites, Aryabhata and Bhaskara, launched with the aid of Soviet carrier-rockets, and the recent launching of the Rohini satellite carried out by India independently.

The talks in Delhi and Moscow have reaffirmed the unshakable foundations on which Soviet-Indian friendship has arisen and is gaining in strength. These meetings, as Mr. Narasimha Rao pointed out, have also reaffirmed that Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation continue making an important contribution to the cause of peace and stability.

As time has shown, the Treaty serves as a mighty instrument of support for all genuine fighters for national independence, social progress and peace in Asia and helps isolate imperialism's accomplices. The Soviet Union and India have long been brought together by the identity or closeness of positions on major international problems. They actively advocated the restoration of peace in Vietnam and welcomed the successes scored by the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Laos, Cambodia, Angola and Mozambique.

The years that have passed since the signing of the Treaty have shown its significance as an important factor in present-day international affairs. It has exerted and continues exerting a considerable positive influence on the process of strengthening peace

and the security of nations, on the development of the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

—Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

Riddles of Sleep and Dreams

Our brain keeps busy solving a vast variety of problems, recognising and memorising different objects, tackling different situations and doing like jobs from day-to-day. In all this, it gets so tired that only sleep can give the required rest to it. Sleep has been rightly called the balm of hurt minds.

The riddle of sleep was unravelled by the famous Russian physiologist Ivan Petrovich Pavlov (1849-1936). He discovered that sleep sets in when the highest part of the central nervous system (the cerebral cortex) and even the midbrain (mesencephalon) enter the state of inhibition. He very aptly called sleep 'diffused inhibition', saying that "internal inhibition and sleep are the same thing, self-same process". Sleep safeguards the brain against exhaustion.

The Secretes of Sleep

When neuro-surgeons learned to operate on the brain, they almost decided that there was a special 'centre of sleep.' The reason for it was that the operations on the brain are painless and may be performed without anaesthesia with the patient awake. But as soon as the surgeon's knife touches a certain accumulation of cells in the depth of the brain, the patient falls asleep.

Those who have experienced moving to another time zone when the night was shifted by six or twelve hours—must have experienced a sensation close to what is now usually called stress—a heavy nervous tension.

When travelling across meridians the customary 'sleep—wakefulness' rhythm of our organism no longer coincides with the daily 'night-day' rhythm. And then everything is

out of time—the usual hours of sleep, and meal, and morning activity. This is why athletes in the other hemisphere take three weeks to get back in the trim. The Olympic Games in Mexico proved a tough test for Europeans. It generally takes three days to adjust one's sleep. If the organism does not cope with the change, there is no guarantee that the brain will make the best decision. So says a new branch of science about the living bio-rhythmology.

Sleep—Vital to Sound Mind

Sleep can in fact be divided into three periods, the mid-sleep period, dense-sleep period and dream-sleep period. The time between the preparation for sleep and the dense sleep period falls under the first category. The person is neither fast asleep in this period nor is he fully awake. Whole night a person normally wanders in these three periods in the same sequence.

It has been found that the effects of keeping awake for long periods is more mental than physical. Persons who were kept awake experimentally were found to be nagging and shorttempered. The dense sleep period is a must for a person to have sound state of mind.

These riddles of sleep and dreams have been solved to a great extent by the scientists, doctors, and psychologists and thus have thrown open many interesting vistas for deeper study of the mystery of this beautiful world of sleep and dreams. —"Science and Engineering"

Avicenna's Jubilee in the Soviet Union

V. Leukin writes in Science and Engineering

This year will see the birth millenary of the outstanding thinker of the medieval Orient Abu Ali ibn Sina (Avicenna). This anniversary will be officially marked throughout the world according to the decision of the

CURRENT AFFAIRS

UNESCO General Conference. Avicenna's jubilee will be a great event in the cultural life of the Soviet Union.

† † † † †

The Soviet Union has done a lot for the study and popularisation of Avicenna's versatile art, as well as for the comprehensive research into his philosophical legacy. Soviet scholars have convincingly proved that ibn Sina was not a simple commentator of Aristotle's philosophy as he is often presented by bourgeois historians but the founder of a philosophical system of his own which became the top of the theoretical thought of the Orient and the West in the epoch of the early Middle Ages.

The works by the great medieval thinker who greatly contributed to mathematics, medicine and literature, to say nothing of philosophy, have been translated into Russian and other languages of Soviet Nations. All great works by the outstanding scholar and humanist have been put out in the Soviet Union, as well as a series of monographs analysing various aspects of ibn Sina's scientific legacy. New editions of Avicenna's works and studies on him are being brought out by central and republican publishing houses to mark his birth millenary. For example, the Nauka publishing house is putting out a one-volume book of his collected philosophical works, while his collected poems are being issued in the Literaturnye Pam'yatniki (Literary Monuments) series. The Tadzhik Academy of Sciences is publishing ibn Sina's selected works in 10 volumes in Russian and Tadzhik, while the Uzbek Academy of Sciences is preparing for the press the five-volume edition of "The Canon" by Avicenna in Russian and Uzbek.

The Nesidents of Bukhara, the city where

the scientists spent his green years, have made the memory of ibn Sina sacred. "Ibn Sina" devoted to the life of the thinker produced by the Bukhara drama theatre is a great success. In this play the actors strive to show the viability of the philosopher's ideas, and their spiritual affinity with their great fellow-countrymen who lived 1,000 years ago. The Bukhara poets Tashpulat Khamidov and Sadridin Salimov dedicated their poems to Avicenna.

The great thinker is highly honoured in the village of Afshana, his birthplace. The local memorial museum deals with the life and art of ibn Sina. Noteworthy, in the days of the jubilee arrangements in Afshana a woman from the village, Mother-Heroine Toybibi Tosheva, named her tenth baby son Abu Ali in honour of Abu Ali ibn Sina.

The Computer Agrees With Avicenna

Yuri Zimmel writes in Science and Engineering :—

This year by the decision of the UNESCO General Conference the 1,000th birth anniversary of one of the great ancestors of the Tajik people—Abu Ali ibn Sina (Avicenna), an outstanding thinker and scientist-encyclopaedist—is being marked. Great are his services to the development of philosophy, poetry, music, mathematics, astronomy and botany. However, ibn Sina is, above all, known as a great physician. In medieval sources of the East and the West the name of Avicenna is held in the same esteem as the names of Galen and Hippocrates. The main medical work by ibn Sina—the Canon of Medicine—won him unfading world fame. In the Canon he set forth and generalised the achievements of Greek, Indian and Iranian-Arab medicine.

It took a millennium to arrange this meet-

manuscript of the Institute of Sciences of the machine is to answer the question: what medicine can use drugs of the plant origin. The computer is carefully checking the medicinal value of each component of the recipe and their combined effect and is giving the appraisal: although the recipe was prescribed 1,000 years ago, it cannot in any way be considered out-of-date.

The Institute's Pharmacology Laboratory is studying the properties of medicinal plants. Tajikistan's flora is so rich in. Pharmacopoeia according to Avicenna made a wide use of means of plant origin. The 158 recipes, which offered for the computer's analysis, included about 200 medicinal plants, and the machine recognised the medicinal value of most of them. However, the machine was sceptical about substances of mineral origin. For instance, according to the ancient Oriental legend the powder from monkey bones was destined to protect people from the "evil eye" and was added to nearly every recipe.

Scientists were somewhat surprised at the high appraisal by the computer of Urals licorice, a modest wide-spread plant. The brew from its roots, the machine confirmed, can cure pulmonary and gastric diseases. It is worth noting that the licorice root is very often mentioned in Oriental recipes.

Tajik researchers also showed interest in the principle of compiling certain drugs. For instance, the remedy suggested by Avicenna to cure cardiac pains consists of 25 components of which only three are cardiac agents. Other agents are tonic, analgesic, and antitoxic. The matter was that having no efficient (from the present-day viewpoint) agents ancient doctors took as their helper the human organism itself. After administration of

harmful substances were removed from the patient's organism and all the forces were mobilised to overcome the ailment.

Another interesting principle of ibn-Sina's pharmacopoeia is the duplication of components having the same effect. If the patient's organism was indifferent to one of the components, the second or the third might be of help. The recipe, thus compiled, proved to be practically universal for any organism.

Some of the ancient recipes have been recommended by scientists for modern use. Studies are in progress not only at the Institute of Chemistry, but also at the Institute of Gastroenterology of the Tajik Academy of Sciences and in the Pharmacology Department of the Tajik State Medical Institute named after Abu-Ali ibn-Sina.

Sixtyseventh Indian Science Congress Calcutta,

Born on August 31, 1922 in Calcutta, Prof. Ajit Kumar Saha spent his early years at Allahabad. He received his school education at Anglo Bengali Intermediate College, Allahabad and passed the matriculation examination of the U. P. Board in 1935. After passing the matriculation examination he accompanied his father Prof. M. N. Saha in a tour of the middle east visiting the famous places of antiquity, which created a deep impression on him. At the end of the tour he spent some time at the School of Paul Gehebe in Switzerland. On his return he studied at Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, receiving the Intermediate Science Degree of the U. P. Board in 1938, standing third in order of merit. He studied B.Sc. with Honours in Mathematics at Presidency College, Calcutta and M.Sc. in Pure Physics at the University College of Science, Calcutta, standing third in order of merit in 1942. The teaching of nuclear physics started for the first time in the University of Calcutta and he was in the

earliest batch of M.Sc. students in this field. His M.Sc. thesis was on the Libby counter. His research career started in the Palit Laboratory of Physics at University of Calcutta under the guidance of Prof. Maghnad Saha on theoretical and experimental Nuclear Physics. He received the Premchand Roychand studentship of the University of Calcutta in 1945. He was one of the first D. Sc's of the country in this field, and his was the first thesis on Nuclear Spectroscopy. The thesis was examined by Prof. Max. Born, Prof. C. D. Ellis and Prof. N. Feather. He served for some time as an assistant to the Palit Professor of Physics after which he received the Junior Fellowship of the National Institute of Science in 1946. He was awarded the 1851 Exhibition Scholarship and he worked in the University of Edinburgh from 1947 to 1950 in the Laboratory of Prof. N. Feather. During his stay abroad he visited the laboratories of Prof. Scherrer at E. T. H. in Zurich, Prof. K. Siegbahn at Nobel Institute, Stockholm and Madame Irene Curie Joliet in Paris.

After his return to India Prof. Saha was awarded the Mowat Medal of the University of Calcutta. He was offered service at the Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. But he decided to join the former Institute in 1951. Ever since then he has served in the Saha Institute in various capacities—first as reader from 1953 to 1956, as professor from 1956 to 1967 and as senior professor from 1968 to 1979. Prof. A. K. Saha and the school that he developed was responsible for many pioneering work in India in many fields of Physics. He was one of the first persons to start Nuclear Spectroscopy and nuclear magnetic resonance researches in India. His objective in this school was to develop with equal emphasis the theoretical and experimental aspects of research in the areas of physics that was under-

taken. The research groups he had established were reputed as having achieved this objectives. Prof. Saha was also one of the first persons in India to initiate Theoretical Nuclear Physics researches. He had also started a programme of molecular biology in his group. The present divisions of theoretical nuclear physics and Crystal Structure and Molecular Biology of the Saha Institute grew out of the groups led by Prof. Saha. Prof. Saha emphasised for his laboratory the need for construction of many basic instruments at the initial stage of research. Among these instruments there were short magnetic lens beta-spectrometer, spin-echo magnetic resonance spectrometer and NQR spectrometer with a special goniometer for rotation studies for crystals—all designed by his division. Such instruments were made for the first time in India. Thanks to his efforts the division of Nuclear Physics in the Saha Institute earned a wide scientific reputation. Prof. Saha initiated and organised a very successful Post M.Sc. course at the Saha Institute which consists at present of three different streams, of which the Solid State stream till recently was under the direct supervision of Prof. Saha. Many of the students of this course are now in the forefront of research in many fields of physics. The Saha Institute is today to a large extent manned by research workers trained by Prof. Saha. Prof. Saha is the author of many scientific papers and co-author of a book "Nuclear Magnetic Induction."

Prof. Saha was elected a Fellow of the National Academy of Sciences in the year 1959. He is a member of many other academic bodies. He has served as a member of the Council of the National Physical Laboratory. He was a member of the Board and Governing Body of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. He was a member of the Councils of Indian Association for

the Cultivation of Sciences, and the Bose Research Institute. He is a member of the Council for Meteorological & Atmospheric Sciences and the National Committee on Sciences and Sechnology. He was a member of a Committee of the Government of India investigating the nuclear device placed on the Nanda Devi. He is the Chairman of the Cyclone Review Committee set up by the Government of India. Prof. Saha was Director of the Bose Research Institute in 1977 and is at present in charge of the Saha Institute. He visited the Soviet Union in 1958 as a member of a Scientific Delegation and represented the Indian Science Congress Association at Dundee in 1968 at the annual

meeting of the British Association for Science and at the annual meeting of the Shri Lanka Science Congress Association in 1968.

He has been associated with the Indian Science Congress as a General Secretary for the period 1966 to 1970 and as a Treasurer for the period 1971 to 1974 and 1976 to 1977. He is the Life-member of the Indian Science News Association.

Prof. Saha has deep interest in a chronology, ancient and medieval history, of science and technology and natural manacs. He was a member of the Almanac Committee set up by the Bengal Government in 1963.

—“Science and Culture”



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Special protective legislation for women in the Nordic Countries

Ruth NIELSEN

The application of special protective legislation for women reached its peak in the Nordic countries in the first quarter of the twentieth century, a period in which the debate on whether women ought or needed to be protected (excluded) from different kind of work also came to a head.

Current legislation in these countries is marked by an almost total absence of special protection for women. At the same time the number of women gainfully employed outside their homes is high and it is widely believed—at least within these countries—that women occupy a better position in the Nordic labour market than in many other parts of the world. The absence of special protection for women is often seen as a token of equality of employment opportunities for both sexes.

1. Women's position in the Nordic labour market

During the past 100 years the number of women gainfully employed has risen considerably, with particularly marked increases being recorded around the turn of the century and in the period since 1960 or thereabouts.

The influx of women into the workforce in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was partly due to the process of industrialisation which was then gathering pace; most of them performed unskilled factory jobs in a small range of female-dominated industries. The increase in the number of women wage earners since 1960, on the other hand, is not

directly connected with the industrialisation process. The female industrial labour force has not grown very much in recent years, but there has been an enormous expansion in the service sectors and today the great majority of women are employed in the health and social services, in the retail trade, teaching, banks and offices.

A characteristic feature of the Nordic labour market is its division according to sex. Over 70 per cent of the female working population are employed in some 25 trades and professions, in which the proportion of male workers is low. Men, on the other hand, work in nearly 300 different occupations, in most of which the proportion of women is very low. Thus the Nordic countries can be said to have two labour markets, one for men and a smaller one for women. This sexual segregation of the labour market is not in any way the result of legal prescriptions but of social and economic factors which governments have so far been unable to control.

Another characteristic feature is the fact that married women now form the majority of the gainfully employed female population and that a very considerable proportion of these work part time.

2. The legislative context of special protection

In the Nordic legal tradition the question of special protection for women belongs to two different branches of legislation: those governing the working environment and equal employment opportunity respectively.

Working environment legislation

This type of legislation has evolved through

three main stages : the period of the Factory Acts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century ; the period of the Workers' Protection Act extending from the 1930s to the 1960s ; and the period of the Working Environment Acts adopted in the 1970s.

In the first period the Acts only covered jobs in particularly dangerous workplaces and were focused on groups presumed to be weak such as children and—to a smaller extent—women. As already mentioned, the debate on special protection for women reached its climax when the working environment legislation was in its Factory Act phase. The question whether or not women should be protected (or excluded) from certain kinds of jobs fitted well into the framework of the Factory Acts, which were generally concerned with providing special protection for special groups working in special types of workplaces.

At that time the idea of special protection was supported by some trade unions, employers' organisations and government bodies and in some of the Nordic countries (e.g. Sweden) it was actually implemented, as in the prohibition of night work by women in industry. In other countries (e.g. Denmark) practically all kinds of special protection were rejected even in this period.

In recent times the scope of working environment legislation has been expanded as regards both the groups and the workplaces covered. The principle underlying the adoption of the Working Environment Acts in the 1970s is that in any workplace, all workers should be protected in accordance with their individual needs.

Most of the debate on special protection for women is out of tune with this new legislative approach. Thus in its 1976 report the Swedish Working Environment Commission called the ILO Conventions on night work by women in industry and on maternity protec-

tion obsolete and did not discuss them further.

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The current legislative activity concerning equal employment opportunities is a response to the changes in the female labour market during the 1960s and 1970s. The main problems now are concerned with sex discrimination in the employment relationship, the sexual segregation of the labour market as a whole, part-time employment and other ways of combining work with family responsibilities, and women's education and vocational training. There has been a wave of legislative activity in this field in the Nordic countries during the past few years, including legislation on equal pay, equal treatment and different kinds of positive discrimination. In all the Nordic countries special equality councils or committees have been established.

3. The present legislative position regarding special protection

As mentioned earlier, Nordic legislation provides special protection in only a few instances. The legal position varies from country to country, Finland being the most inclined towards special protection and Denmark the least. The various kinds of special protection—prohibition of night work, restriction of working hours, maternity protection, etc.—are also treated differently, maternity protection being the most widely accepted form. The different types of special protection will be dealt with individually later on.

The widespread reluctance to resort to special protection in the Nordic countries has resulted in only a very few of the relevant ILO Conventions being ratified.

4. Principal arguments for and against special protection

In the Nordic debate the main arguments for special protection have been as follows :

—Special protection is necessary because of the traditional sex-role pattern, which places heavy burdens on women as wives and mothers. Women would be overworked if they were allowed to work at night or for more than a limited number of hours, do strenuous work, and so on.

—Special protection for women is necessary for biological reasons, e.g. in connection with childbirth.

—Special protection for women is necessary in order to safeguard other more important interests, such as the welfare of children or men's employment.

The following have been the main arguments against special protection :

—Special protection for women is contrary to the principle of equality, which requires every man or woman to be treated as an individual human being regardless of sex.

—Special protection for women results in economic loss for the individual woman if she is excluded from a job and cannot find another, and for women as a group because it narrows the range of jobs open to them and worsens the sexual segregation of the labour market by reserving certain jobs for men.

—Special protection for women is a smoke screen for protecting other interests, such as the maintenance of full employment among men.

The argument that special protection for women is necessary because of the traditional sex-role pattern is generally rejected in the Nordic countries. It might very well be true that sex-role stereotypes are incompatible with full-time work for women, but it does not follow from this that women's work should be forcibly restricted in order to adapt it to traditional sex roles.

Moderate opponents of special protection usually argue that each woman should be free to choose whether or not she will accept a

traditional sex-role pattern and that she should not be denied access to work which is incompatible with this pattern. More radical opponents usually argue that if sex-role stereotypes are incompatible with women's economic activity, then it is the stereotypes that have to be changed.

The argument that special protection is necessary because some substances, for biological reasons, are more hazardous to women, or perhaps only to certain groups (e.g. pregnant women), than to men is often accepted if the harmful effects can be scientifically substantiated.

The argument that special protection for women is necessary as a means of promoting the interests of other groups has not been used very often by supporters of special protection. But the corresponding argument of its opponents, that protection for women is a smoke screen serving to protect others has been used very widely.

It has, however, been argued that compulsory maternity protection is necessary for the child's sake, even though it may not always be to the benefit of the mother.

Among opponents of special protection there is a widespread suspicion that most of the suggestions regarding special protection—including the ILO Conventions on the subject—are not really designed to protect women. Thus, in its 1975 report on the occasion of International Women's Year, the Nordic ILO Working Party observed that the ILO Conventions on night work and underground work for women were adopted either shortly after the First or Second World War or during the Dépression of the 1930s. The Working Party raised the question whether these Conventions were adopted primarily for the sake of protecting women or out of fear of (male) unemployment. It could also be pointed out

that the ILO Maternity Protection Conventions of 1919 and 1952 and the White Lead (Painting) Convention of 1921 were adopted in periods when demobilised soldiers were having difficulties in getting jobs.

If the need for special protection is accepted, the question arises of who is to pay for the losses suffered by women whose employment is restricted on these grounds. In the Nordic countries it is often argued that there must be no special protection without compensation. Most of the legislation presently in force provides for the "protected" woman to be compensated through the social security system.

5. Different types of special protection

Restrictions on night work and the hours of work of women are the two forms of special protection which have been most fully discussed in the Nordic countries. In the following pages these and other kinds of special protection will be examined in turn.

Night work

The prohibition of night work by women has only been discussed in relation to industrial night work in factories and the like. Women's night work in the health and social sector is much more widespread than night work in factories and in fact without it hospitals and similar institutions would not be able to function.

The question of night work by women was the subject of lively debate in connection with the promulgation of the Factory Acts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In Denmark and Norway a ban on the employment of women at night was rejected, while in Sweden and Finland special restrictions on such employment were in force for a time but were later repealed.

In the current Nordic legislation there are no special restrictions on night work for women. On the other hand, some of the

countries concerned have general restrictions on night work for both sexes. The ILO Conventions No. 4 (1919) and No. 89 (1948) respecting night work by women have not been ratified by any Nordic country because of their incompatibility with national legislation.

At the beginning of the century, when the debate was at its height, the main arguments for special protection of women against night work were that such protection was necessary for the sake of the next generation and because women, as a result of the traditional division of labour between wife and husband, do much more work in connection with running the household and looking after the children than men do. A woman employed at night would therefore be working both day (as a mother and in the home) and night (in the factory), while a man on night shift can sleep during the day.

Another argument advanced against night work by women in industry was that they could be exposed to the dangers of sexual assault on the way to and from work.

Dangerous work

The legislation presently in force includes some kinds of special protection for women against substances which are hazardous to health, dangerous work processes, and the like. Finland, Norway and Sweden have ratified the ILO White Lead (Painting) Convention, 1921 (No. 13), and Finland has also ratified the Benzene Convention, 1971 (No. 136), and the Underground Work (Women) Convention, 1935 (No. 45). Sweden, too, ratified this last Convention in 1936, but denounced it in 1967.

A number of different arguments have been used concerning special protection against dangerous work.

Maternity and paternity protection

In all the Nordic countries the social security systems contain special provisions

protecting women during pregnancy and for a period after the birth of the child. In most of these countries women are given compulsory maternity leave and prohibited from working for a given number of weeks following the confinement. However, in Denmark maternity leave is not compulsory, but a woman may take it if she wishes to, and most women do. Even in the countries where the leave is compulsory the prohibition on employment is not absolute since a woman is allowed to return to work before the end of the statutory period if a medical examination shows that she is fit to do so.

6. Conclusion.

Though there are minor differences of opinion, the prevailing view in the Nordic countries is that neither men nor women workers should be protected on the grounds of sex, except for strictly biological reasons. The persistence of traditional sex-role stereotypes is not regarded as a justification for giving women special protection.

The arguments for and against special protective legislation cannot be evaluated in isolation from their economic, social and legal context. In the Nordic countries the debate on special protection started more than 100 years ago. In the early twentieth century it was still an open question whether or not special protective legislation should be introduced. But today the issue seems to have been resolved. Special protection on a large scale would fit very badly into the framework of both the current working environment legislation and that dealing with equality of opportunity in employment.

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Multifarious Services of the London Buddhist Vihara

By Dr. W. G. Weeraratne in Maha Bodhi

The London Buddhist Vihara is well known

in all parts of England where there are groups of Buddhists or individuals interested in Buddhism. To the 12,000 odd Sri Lankans in the United Kingdom, the Vihara is the centre that helps them to maintain their national identity. Families of Sri Lankans in England visit the Vihara often. Students who are there to study and undergo periods of training too visit the Vihara, whenever they find the time to get over boredom and loneliness and to refresh their memories of mother Lanka. Even the casual visitor from Sri Lanka makes it a point to visit the Vihara within a few hours of landing there. All these Sri Lankans receive the warmest welcome from the few energetic and disciplined bhikkhus headed by Venerable Saddhatissa and the lay dayakas. On such occasions I was reminded of the days of the Buddha as portrayed in the Pali Suttas. When a person visited the Buddha, whether he be monk or layman, he was welcomed with a friendly smile and greetings. He is made to sit on a suitable seat and the Buddha inquired into his health and well-being whether he had his meals, whether he had travelled comfortably etc. It is only after these preliminaries are over and after making the visitor to feel quite at home that the Buddha inquired kindly as to the purpose of the visit. Likewise all who visit the London Buddhist Vihara receive the most cordial and friendly reception there.

This is not the only service enjoyed by Sri Lankans from the Vihara. It conducts Sinhala classes and classes in Buddhism for the benefit of children of Sri Lankans who are in U. K. Every Sunday there is a very comprehensive religious programme. The morning is set apart for teaching Pali and Buddhism to interested people. The evening session is mainly a meeting where hundreds participate. The meeting starts with the administering of Panchasila and guided buddhapuja. This is

followed by a religious talk or discussion. Besides Ven. Saddhatissa, reputed Buddhist scholars from English Universities or a visiting scholar from some Buddhist country normally deliver these talks on various aspects of Buddhism. This is followed by a brief *anusa-sana*. The next item is a meditation session, about half an hour. The programme ends at about 7.30 in the evening with chanting of *pirith*. There are special programmes for important *poya* days. *Wesak*, *Poson*, *Esala* and *Kathina* are the most important occasions for Buddhists living in U. K. They come to the *Vihara* in thousands on these days. A well-organised comprehensive programme is launched on such days every year. The day begins with the hoisting of the Buddhist Flag. This is normally done by the Sri Lankan High Commissioner in U. K. or by a High Commissioner or Ambassador from another Buddhist country. Adminisrering of *sil* to hundreds of devotees who observe the eight precepts is next done by a *bhikkhu*. There are seminars, discussions, recitals, of selected *suttas* and *jatakas* and *Buddhapuja* throughout the day to keep the people occupied.

Apart from these activities the Sri Lankan Buddhists are served by the *Vihara* in many other ways. The *bhikkhus* officiate at funerals to perform *pansukula* ceremony and transference of merit to the departed beings. They perform memorial services too for the departed relatives of the *dayakas*.

These do not exhaust the manifold activities of the *Vihara*. Many Englishmen and women from all over U. K. visit the *Vihara* often. They come to get more information about

Buddhism, to get reading material to participate in religious activities and to pay respects at the shrine room. Some go to read in the library and practice meditation. Buddhism is now a subject in the curriculum of U. K. and as a result number of inquirers has gone up very much.

Dead Sea could supply most of Israel's city needs

By Ellen Davidson in "News From Israel"

EIN BOKEK—In the not-too-future, the combination of the Dead Sea and the sun shining on it could produce the electricity needs of Israel, which is totally dependent on imported oil.

This message of hope was conveyed recently by Israel's Minister of Energy, Yitzhak Moda'i, as he inaugurated the largest solar-electric power station, adjacent to the Dead Sea, the lowest point on earth.

Moda'i said the two-acre solar pond and 150-kilowatt power plant nearby demonstrate the commercial viability of solar power. The Energy Minister expressed the hope that this unique plant developed and produced by Israeli scientists and engineers was the start of the process of converting the Dead Sea into a "Sea of Life." Officials of Ormat Ltd. and Solmat Ltd., the companies which developed and built the plant, predict that an expanded system of solar ponds in the Dead Sea region could meet almost all of Israel's electricity needs by the end of the century. For Israel this means a huge reduction in oil imports, accompanied by a decrease in economic and political dependencies.